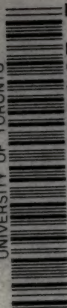
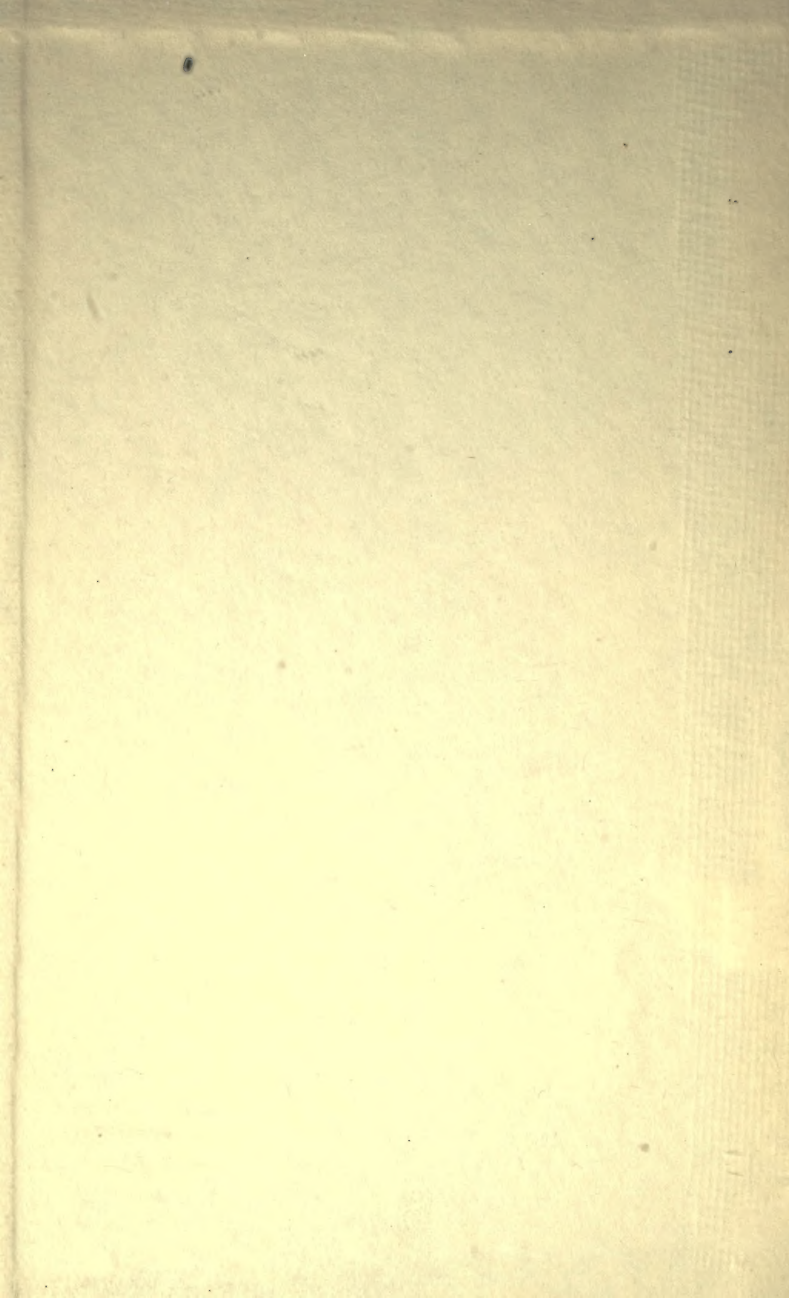
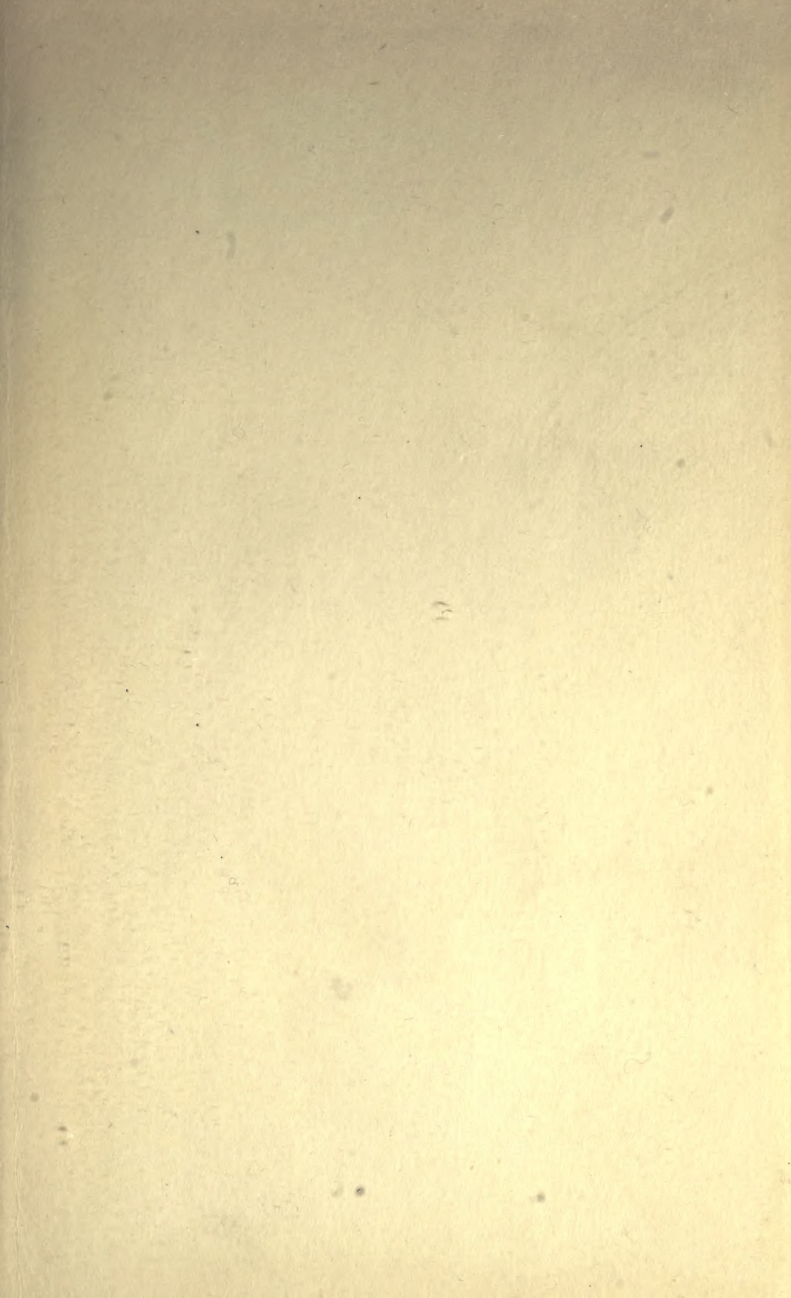


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THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY
HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL
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EDITED BY HENRY W. HOLT

THE STUDENTS' SERIES OF
HISTORICAL AND COMPARATIVE
GRAMMARS

EDITED BY JOSEPH WRIGHT

HISTORICAL
GERMAN GRAMMAR

VOL. I

PHONOLOGY, WORD-FORMATION
AND ACCIDENCE

BY

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PREFACE

It is a noteworthy fact that during the last few years there has been a steady increase in the number of people who take a real interest in the scientific study of language. The comparatively small number of such people, and the backward state of knowledge on the subject, are not due to lack of desire to learn, but chiefly to the lack of suitable handbooks written in English. In order therefore to meet this want, it has long been my intention to edit a series of grammars which shall give for each language a concise account of its phonology, morphology, inflexions and syntax from an historical point of view. I was unable to develop this scheme whilst working at the English Dialect Dictionary; but now that I am free from those labours, I am able to devote my whole time and energy to the furtherance of the project. This book then is the first of the series of historical grammars. Although it has been compressed into a comparatively small compass, I venture to think that it is the most complete treatise on historical German grammar which has hitherto appeared in the English language. A glance at the Index of over 4,000 words will show that I have not shirked the drudgery of collecting large numbers of examples to illustrate the sound-laws in the different periods of the language, and more especially those in the modern period.

A student, who wishes to acquire a thorough knowledge of historical German grammar, should first make himself familiar with the older periods by reading through a certain number of texts such as those given in the Old and Middle

High German Primers. By so doing, he will gain a much firmer grasp of the subject than if he merely works at a grammar. If he already possesses a fair vocabulary of Old and Middle High German, he will most certainly master the grammar in far less time than he would do, were he quite ignorant of the older periods of the language. However, in writing this book I have not presupposed even an elementary knowledge of Old and Middle High German on the part of students; but on the other hand it will be useless for anyone who has not already a fairly good knowledge of Modern German to attempt to read the book, because, in order to save space, I have omitted the meanings of the Modern German words, except in special cases where this might lead to confusion.

Although I have endeavoured to include all that the average student will require to know of the subject, I do not pretend that this grammar is in any sense an exhaustive treatise. To have treated the subject in great detail would have lessened the practical value of the book. A list of the chief books used in the writing of the grammar will be found on pp. xiii-xiv, but it is my pleasant duty to mention here my great indebtedness to the works of Behaghel, Braune, Paul, and Wilmanns.

Volume II, dealing with historical German syntax, will be written by my colleague, Dr. Fiedler, who hopes to have it ready for press early next year.

In conclusion, my sincere thanks are due to the Controller of the University Press for his great kindness in complying with my wishes in regard to special type, and to my wife for her valuable help in making the Index Verborum.

JOSEPH WRIGHT.

OXFORD, *April*, 1907.

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ABBREVIATIONS, ETC.

Dor.	= Doric	MHG.	= Middle High German
EFr.	= East Franconian	NE.	= New English
Fr.	= Franconian	NHG.	= New High German
Germ.	= Germanic	OE.	= Old English
Goth.	= Gothic	OHG.	= Old High German
Gr.	= Greek	O.Icel.	= Old Icelandic
H.Al.	= High Alemanic	O.Ir.	= Old Irish
HG.	= High German	O.Lat.	= Old Latin
Hom.	= Homer	ON.	= Old Norse
Indg.	= Indo-Germanic	OS.	= Old Saxon
infl.	= inflected	Prim.	= Primitive
Lat.	= Latin	RFr.	= Rhenish Franconian
loc.	= locative	Skr.	= Sanskrit
ME.	= Middle English	UFr.	= Upper Franconian
MFr.	= Middle Franconian	UG.	= Upper German

The asterisk * prefixed to a word denotes a theoretical form, as OHG. *tag*, *day*, from Prim. Germanic **dagaz*.

In the transcription of Gothic words, *ai* = the *ǣ* in OE. *slāpan*, *to sleep*, as Goth. *saian*, *to sow*; *ái* = the *ei* in NHG. *stein* = Goth. *stáins*; *af* = the *e* in NHG. *herz* = Goth. *hairtō*. *au* = the *au* in English *aught*, as Goth. *bauan*, *to build*; *áu* = the *au* in NHG. *auge* = Goth. *áugō*; *aú* = the *o* in NHG. *dorf* = Goth. *paúrþ*.



INTRODUCTION

GENERAL PRINCIPLES

§ 1. IN order to study the historical grammar of a language with any real profit, it is necessary for the student to possess an elementary knowledge of some of the general principles which are applicable to the historical and philological treatment of all languages. It is beyond the plan and scope of this book to do more than indicate a few of the general principles; for the rest, the student should consult books dealing specially with the subject, such as Paul's *Principien der Sprachgeschichte*, Sweet's *Primer of Phonetics*, and Passy's *Petite phonétique comparée des principales langues européennes*, which contains an excellent résumé of all the student requires to know concerning phonetics.

§ 2. Comparison of sound laws with physical laws.—In applying the term 'law' to the phenomena of sound-change, it is of great importance to understand that the term is used in a technical sense and must never be confounded with the use of the term 'law' as applied to the physical sciences, such as physics, chemistry, &c. Physical laws lay down what must invariably and always happen under certain given conditions, whereas sound laws merely state the regularity of sound-change observed in any particular group of historic phenomena. At first sight this may seem to be something like a distinction without a difference, but if we examine the matter more closely we shall see that there is a material difference. Physical laws are absolute and unchanging. They operate to-day just in the

same manner as they did in all past ages, and will continue to do so for all time to come. When we say, e. g., that the space traversed by a falling body is represented by the formula $S = \frac{1}{2} ft^2$, or that the action of sulphuric acid upon zinc is represented by the formula $Zn + H_2SO_4 = ZnSO_4 + H_2$, we formulate a law which has held good and will hold good for all time and in all places. But not so with sound laws. In treating of the history and philology of any language or group of languages, two of the most important points, which the investigator carefully observes, are chronology and geography. Sound laws only operate for a limited period and then cease to operate; and their operation is often confined to a small area. It also by no means follows that a sound law which operated at one period of a language will operate again at a later period under similar conditions, e. g. in prehistoric English as also in Old Saxon and Old Frisian there operated the law whereby **n** became absorbed and the preceding vowel lengthened in the combination **n** + voiceless spirant, as OE. *mūþ*, *mouth*, *gōs*, *goose*, *fīf*, *five* = OHG. *mund*, *gans*, *finf*. But when **n** came to stand in this position at a later period, it has regularly remained, cp. *month*, *tenth*, *dense*, &c.; Indo-Germanic **ā** became **ō** (§ 37) and **o** became **a** (§ 34) in prim. Germanic, but the **ā** from older **ǣ** (§ 70), and the **o** from older **u** (§ 57) which arose in prehistoric High German, remained unchanged in Old High German. Or to take another well-known sound law which concerns all the Germanic languages:—The final Indo-Germanic explosives disappeared in the primitive Germanic language, as Gothic *hva* = Latin *quod*, Goth. *wili* = Lat. *velit*, but when the Germanic explosives which arose from the Indg. mediae (§ 193) and mediae aspiratae (§ 195) came to stand finally at a later period, they regularly remained, as OE. *dēop*, *deep*, *hlūd*, *loud*, *ǣt*, *he ate*, *lomb*, *lamb*, &c.

We will now pass on to the second point which we have

already mentioned, viz. geography: the operation of a sound law is often confined to a small area. A good example of this is seen in the treatment of the Indg. ending of the accusative plural of *o*-stems in the various old Greek dialects. The original ending of this case was *-ons* = Ionic, Attic and late Doric *-ovs*, Bœotian and old Doric *-ws*, Lesbian *-ois*, Elean *-oup*, Cretan *-ovs* and *-os*. Or to come nearer home, where our own dialects furnish abundant instances, let us take for example the development of Old English long *ū* (*mūs*, *mouse*) in the various modern dialects, where it has assumed eleven distinct forms (*ai*, *au*, *aə*, *ā*, *æ*, *eu*, *ou*, *ū*, *vu*, *əu*, *əü*). Other examples of the great diversity of forms arising from a single OE. form are: OE. *hām*, *home* and *fæder*, *father*, each of which has been developed to over thirty different forms in the modern dialects. Most of the so-called irregularities in the phonology of NHG. are due to forms from the different dialects having found their way into the literary language. Many such examples will be found in the paragraphs dealing with the historical development of the NHG. vowels and consonants.

§ 3. Apart from certain cases of metathesis, dissimilation and assimilation of two sounds not standing contiguous in the same word, all sound changes take place gradually and not by sudden leaps. Such a change, for example, as that of MHG. *ī*, *ū*, *û* (written *iu*) to NHG. *ai* (written *ei*), *au*, *oi* (written *äu*, *eu*) presupposes a rather large number of intermediate stages.

§ 4. What is meant by saying that the laws of sound change admit of no exceptions is: that within the limits of any definite language or dialect at a particular period all sounds, which practically fulfil the same phonetic conditions, have had the same fate; that is to say, the same sound must there have changed into the same other sound throughout the language or dialect. And where various

sounds are seen to replace one and the same other sound of the older language, the cause for this difference must be sought in the difference of phonetic conditions, such as accent, contact with or proximity to other sounds; or in other causes, such as the influences of analogy; borrowings from another language or dialect, as NHG. **sanft** beside **sacht**; NE. **hale** beside **whole**. An example of the variation of change caused by difference of accent is the formation of doublets, one being the accented and the other the unaccented form. And what usually takes place when such doublets are called into existence through a difference of accent is that for a time they exist side by side without any difference in meaning; then one of two things takes place: either they differentiate in meaning or else one of the forms dies out and the remaining form becomes used again, both in an accented and unaccented position, as OHG. **zuo** beside **za** would have become NHG. **zu** beside ***ze**; OHG. **dū** beside **du** would have become ***dau** beside **du**, but in NHG. only **zu** and **du** have been preserved. Cp. also such pairs as NE. **too—to**, **off—of**, **one—an**, (**a**), **nought—not**, NHG. **wann—wenn**, **dann—denn**, French **moi—me**, **le mien—mon**, &c. Other examples of variation of change caused by difference of accent are Verner's Law (§ 199); the development of **ō** to **uo** in accented syllables in OHG., but its retention in unaccented syllables, as OHG. **suochen** (Goth. **sōkjan**) *to seek*, but **salbōn** (Goth. **salbōn**), *to anoint*.

Examples of variation of change caused by contact with or proximity to other sounds are: the threefold development of the Indg. velar gutturals in Greek (§ 191 (7)), the mutation of consonants in the Keltic languages, sandhi in Sanskrit, umlaut in the Germanic languages, vowel breaking in OE., &c.

From what has been said above, it naturally follows that sound changes are of a twofold nature: isolative and com-

binative. And we define isolative changes as being those which affect a sound without any reference to its surroundings, and combinative changes those which imply two sounds in juxtaposition, which modify each other in various ways.

§ 5. The rigid adherence to the general principle that sound laws admit of no exceptions has resulted in showing that many sound changes, which were formerly thought to be impossible, are possible, and that many, which were thought to be possible, are impossible. Many etymologies, which were formerly universally accepted, are now rightly rejected, and many others, which a generation ago would have been regarded as impossible, are now firmly established. We have only space for a few etymologies of each type. Etymologists used to regard the following pairs of words as being related, but we now know that they are not related: Lat. **deus**—Gr. *θεός*, **deer**—Gr. *θήρ*, **whole**—Gr. *ὅλος*, **care**—Lat. *cūra*, **charity**—Gr. *χάρις*, **path**—Gr. *πάθος*. On the other hand, the following can be shown to be related: Lat. **decem**—**centum**, **come**—Lat. **venio**—Gr. *βαίνω*, **cow**—**beef**, **get**—Lat. **pre-hendo**—Gr. *χανδάνω*, **snow**—acc. Lat. *nivem*—Gr. *νίφα*.

CLASSIFICATION OF THE INDO-GERMANIC LANGUAGES

§ 6. The High German language is a member of the West Germanic division of the Germanic (Teutonic) branch of the Indo-Germanic family of languages. This great family of languages is usually divided into eight branches:—

I. **Aryan**, consisting of: (1) The Indian group, including the language of the Vedas, classical Sanskrit, and the Prākṛit dialects. (2) The Iranian group, including (a) West Iranian (Old Persian, the language of the Persian cuneiform

inscriptions, dating from about 520-350 B.C.); (*b*) East Iranian (Avesta—sometimes called Zend-Avesta, Zend, and Old Bactrian—the language of the Avesta, the sacred books of the Zoroastrians).

II. **Armenian**, the oldest monuments of which belong to the fifth century A.D.

III. Greek, with its numerous dialects.

IV. **Albanian**, the language of ancient Illyria. The oldest monuments belong to the seventeenth century.

V. **Italic**, consisting of Latin and the Umbrian-Samnitic dialects. From the popular form of Latin are descended the Romance languages: Portuguese, Spanish, Catalanian, Provençal, French, Italian, Raetoromanic, Roumanian or Wallachian.

VI. **Keltic**, consisting of: (1) Gaulish (known to us by Keltic names and words quoted by Latin and Greek authors, and inscriptions on coins); (2) Brittanian, including Cymric or Welsh, Cornish, and Bas Breton or Armorican (the oldest records of Cymric and Bas Breton date back to the eighth or ninth century); (3) Gaelic, including Irish-Gaelic, Scotch-Gaelic, and Manx. The oldest monuments are the old Gaelic ogam inscriptions which probably date as far back as about 500 A.D.

VII. **Baltic-Slavonic**, consisting of: (1) The Baltic division, embracing (*a*) Old Prussian, which became extinct in the seventeenth century, (*b*) Lithuanian, (*c*) Lettic (the oldest records of Lithuanian and Lettic belong to the sixteenth century); (2) the Slavonic division, embracing: (*a*) the South-Eastern group, including Russian (Great Russian, White Russian, and Little Russian), Bulgarian, and Illyrian (Servian, Croatian, Slovenian); (*b*) the Western group, including Czech (Bohemian), Sorabian (Wendish), Polish and Polabian.

VIII. **Germanic**, consisting of:—

(1) **Gothic**. Almost the only source of our knowledge

of the Gothic language is the fragments of the biblical translation made in the fourth century by Ulfilas, the Bishop of the West Goths.

(2) **Old Norse** (Scandinavian), which is sub-divided into two groups: (a) East Norse, including Swedish, Gutnish, and Danish; (b) West Norse, including Norwegian, and Icelandic.

The oldest records of this branch are the runic inscriptions, some of which date as far back as the third or fourth century.

(3) **West Germanic**, which is composed of:—

(a) English, the oldest records of which belong to about the end of the seventh century. English is usually divided into three periods: Old English (OE.) up to about 1100—West Saxon, Kentish, Mercian, and Northumbrian; Middle English (ME.), 1100–1500; and New English (NE.) from 1500 onwards.

(b) Frisian, the oldest records of which belong to the fourteenth century.

(c) Low German, with records dating back to the ninth century. Up to about 1200 it is generally called Old Saxon (OS.); from 1200–1500 Middle Low German; and from 1500 onwards New Low German or Plattdeutsch.

(d) Low Franconian, called Old Low Franconian or Old Dutch until about 1200; Middle Low Franconian or Middle Dutch from 1200 to 1500; from 1500 onwards New Low Franconian, including Dutch, Flemish, Brabantish, and Limburgish.

(e) High German, the oldest monuments of which belong to about the middle of the eighth century.

Notes.—(1) A few of the chief characteristics of the Germanic languages as compared with the other branches of the Indo-Germanic languages are: the first sound-shifting or Grimm's Law (§§ 192–8); Verner's Law (§ 199); the development of the so-called weak declension of adjectives (§ 399); the

development of the preterite of weak verbs (§ 531); the use of the old perfect as a preterite (§ 472).

(2) The most characteristic differences between Gothic and Old Norse on the one hand, and of West Germanic on the other, are : the West Germanic gemination of consonants (§ 213); the loss of final *-z* which arose from older *-s* (§§ 199, 211); the West Germanic development of prim. Germanic *ww* (§ 232), *jj* (§ 241); the form of the second pers. sing. pret. indicative of strong verbs (§ 479). Gothic and Old Norse preserved the old perfect ending, as Goth. Old Norse *namt*, *thou tookest*, but OE. *nōme*, OS. OHG. *nāmi*. In the West Germanic languages the *-t* was only preserved in the preterite presents, as OE. *wāst*, OS. *wēst*, OHG. *weist*, *thou knowest*.

(3) The most characteristic difference between High German and the other Germanic languages is : the High German sound-shifting (§§ 216-8).

§ 7. The division of a language into fixed periods must of necessity be more or less arbitrary. What are given as the characteristics of one period have generally had their beginnings in the previous period, and it is impossible to say with perfect accuracy when one period begins and another ends. For practical purposes High German may be conveniently divided into three periods : OHG. from about 750 to 1100; MHG. from 1100 to 1500; and NHG. from 1500 onwards. 1500 to about 1650 is often called early NHG.

§ 8. OHG. may be described as the period of full endings. The most characteristic differences between OHG. and MHG. are : the weakening of the OHG. vowels to *e* in unaccented syllables (§ 170), and the spread of umlaut (§ 79). Some of the chief differences between MHG. and NHG. are : the spread of umlaut by analogy, especially in the plural of nouns (§§ 350, 357); the lengthening of short vowels which were in open syllables in MHG. (§ 105); the shortening of long vowels before consonant combinations (§ 139); the diphthongization of MHG. *ī*, *ū*, *iu* (§ 124) and

the monophthongization of *ie*, *uo*, *üe* (§ 135); the substitution of the voiced explosives *b*, *d*, *g*, for the MHG. lenes (§ 219); various levellings and new formations in the indic. pres. singular of strong verbs (§ 483); the loss of the MHG. distinction between the stem vowel of the singular and plural in the pret. indicative of strong verbs by levelling out one or other of the stem forms (§ 484); the formation of the preterite and past participle of weak verbs direct from the present (§ 531).

§ 9. The oldest records of HG. exhibit clearly defined dialectal peculiarities which have been treated in some detail in the phonology, so that the student can easily collect together for himself the chief characteristics of each dialect. The dialects are divided into three great groups: Upper German, Franconian, and East Middle German.

1. Upper German is divided into: (*a*) Alemanic, embracing High Alemanic (Switzerland), and Low Alemanic (South Baden, Swabia, and Alsace). (*b*) Bavarian, extending over Bavaria and those parts of Austria where German is spoken.

2. Franconian (West Middle German), which is subdivided into Upper Franconian and Middle Franconian. Upper Franconian consists of East Franconian (the old duchy of *Francia Orientalis*) and Rhenish Franconian (the old province of *Francia Rhinensis*), Middle Franconian extending over the district along the banks of the Moselle and of the Rhine from Coblenz to Düsseldorf.

3. East Middle German, extending over: Thuringia, Upper Saxony, and Silesia. Slavonic was spoken in these parts of Germany in the Middle Ages.

PHONOLOGY

CHAPTER I

ORTHOGRAPHY AND PRONUNCIATION

I. THE OLD HIGH GERMAN PERIOD.

§ 10. THE OHG. monuments were written in the Latin alphabet. Vowel length was either entirely omitted in writing, or was represented by doubling the respective vowel; but sometimes also by using the accents (^, '). The sign ¯, placed over vowels, is used in this grammar to mark long vowels.

A. THE VOWELS.

§ 11. The OHG. vowel-system was represented by the five elementary letters **a, e, i, o, u**, and the digraphs **ei, ie** (**ea, ia**), **io** (**eo**), **iu, ou** (**au**), and **uo** (**ua**), the latter having the value of diphthongs. See § 78.

§ 12. All the simple vowels had both a short and a long quantity. The short vowels **a, i, o, u**, and the long vowels **ā, ē, ī, ō**, and **ū**, had nearly the same pronunciation as the corresponding OE. vowels. **e** had a twofold pronunciation, which is still kept apart in many NHG. dialects, according as it represented a primitive Germanic **e**—cp. e. g. OE. OS. OHG. **beran**, *to bear*, beside Latin **ferō**, Greek **φέρω**, *I bear*—or an **e** which arose from the **i**-umlaut of **a** (§ 60), as nom. sing. **gast**, *guest*, plural **gesti**; **nerien**, *to save*, from ***nazjan**. In the former case **e** had an open sound like the **e** in English **bed**, and is generally written **ë** in Old and Middle High German grammars, in order to

distinguish it from the umlaut-*e*, which had a close sound like the *é* in French *été*.

The following key-words will be of use, as giving an approximate pronunciation of the vowel-sounds to students unacquainted with Old English:—

a	as in NHG. mann	man , <i>man</i>
ā	„ Engl. father	hāhan , <i>to hang</i>
ë	„ „ bed	hëlfan , <i>to help</i>
e	„ Fr. <i>été</i>	gesti , <i>guests</i>
ē	„ NHG. reh	sēla , <i>soul</i>
i	„ Engl. it	wizzan , <i>to know</i>
ī	„ NHG. <i>ihn</i>	mīn , <i>my</i>
o	„ Engl. not	got , <i>God</i>
ō	„ NHG. so	hōh , <i>high</i>
u	„ Engl. full	gibuntan , <i>bound</i>
ū	„ NHG. gut	hūs , <i>house</i>
ei = e + i	„ Engl. stain	stein , <i>stone</i>
ie = i + e		riet , <i>advised</i> .

The remaining diphthongs **ea** (*ia*), **io** (*eo*), **iu**, **ou** (*au*), **uo** (*ua*), will present no difficulties to the learner who has mastered the key-words to the short vowels in the above table. In late OHG. the diphthong **iu** was contracted into the long vowel **ū**, although the **iu** was retained in writing (§ 85).

B. THE CONSONANTS.

§ 13. The OHG. consonant-system was represented by the following letters:—**b**, **c**, **ch**, **d**, **f**, **g**, **h**, ***j**, (**i**, **e**, **g**), **k**, **l**, **m**, **n**, **p**, **q**, **r**, **s**, **t**, **th** (**dh**), **u** (**v**), ***w** (**uu**, **u**, **uv**, **vu**, **vv**), **x**, **z**.

The letters **b**, **d** (see § 219) **k**, **l**, **m**, **n**, **p**, and **t** had nearly the same sound-values as in English. The remaining consonants require special attention.

c had a twofold pronunciation. It had the sound of English **k** finally and before the guttural vowels **a**, **o**, **u**,

and before consonants, as *folc*, *folk*, *corn*, *corn*, *cund*, *known*, *clein*, *pretty*. Before the palatal vowels *i*, *e* (except in the combination *sc*) it had the sound of *ts*, like NHG. *z*, as *lucil*, *little*, *ce*, *to*. But, on the other hand, *sceidan*, *to sever*, where *sc* was pronounced like the *sch* in the English word *school*.

ch mostly represented a single (guttural spirant) sound like the *ch* in NHG. or in Scotch *loch*, as *sprēchan*, *to speak*. In Upper German monuments it was also used to express the affricata *kh*, i.e. *k* + the *ch* sound in Scotch *loch*, as *khorn* (*chorn*), *corn*. See § 217, 2.

f had a twofold pronunciation according as it represented a Germanic *f* or *p*; cp. e.g. OHG. *fater*, OS. *fadar*, OE. *fæder*, *father*, with OHG. *slāfan*, OS. *slāpan*, OE. *slāpan*, Goth. *slēpan*, *to sleep*. In the former case it was labio-dental, and in the latter bilabial. *f* = Germanic *f* was often written *u* (*v*) initially, and medially between vowels, as *varan*, OE. *faran*, *to go*; *zwīval*, Goth. *tweifls*, *doubt*. See § 258.

g, when it represented prim. Germanic *g*, or rather prim. Germanic *ǵ*, had the sound of English *g* in *got*, as OHG. *guot*, OE. *gōd*, *good*; OHG. *tag*, OS. *dag*, OE. *dæg*, *day*. See §§ 219, 290. But when it stood for prim. Germanic *j*, it was a spirant and had nearly the same sound as the *y* in English *yet*, as *genēr* (*jenēr*), Goth. *jáins*, *ille*, *yon*; *herige* (*herie*), Goth. *harja*, dat. sing. of *heri*, *army*.

h, initially and medially between vowels, had the same sound-value as NHG. *h* in *hand*; finally and medially before consonants it was the guttural spirant *ch* (see *ch*), as *habēn*, *to have*, *sēhan*, *to see*; *hōh* (= NHG. *hoch*), *naht* (= NHG. *nacht*).

**j* (that is *i* in the function of a consonant) did not occur in OHG. manuscripts, but was represented by *i* (*e*, *g*). It had nearly the same sound-value as the *y* in English *yet*,

as **nerien** from **nazjan*, *to save*; **hirteo**, Goth. *haírdjē*, gen. pl. of *hirti*, *shepherd*; **genēr** (*jenēr*), Gothic *jáins*, *ille, yon*.

q occurred only in combination with **u** as in English, as OHG. **quēdan**, *to say*; **quēna**, *woman*.

r was a trilled sound in all positions as in Scotch, as **rēht**, *right*, **bēran**, *to bear*, **fart**, *way*, **fagar**, *beautiful*.

s was a voiceless spirant in all positions like the **s** in English **sit**, as **sunu**, *son*, **kiosan**, *to choose*, **kōs**, *I chose*.

th (**dh**) seems in the ninth century to have been a voiced interdental spirant like the **th** in English **then**, as **thenken**, *to think*. See § 217.

u (**v**). Single **u** (**v**) was often written for Germanic **f** (see **f**), as **uaran**, **varan**, *to go*. It was also employed, especially after consonants and before the vowel **u**, to express **u** consonant, i. e. English **w**, as **suarz** for **suuarz**, *black*, **uurdun** for **uuurdun**, *they became*.

w* (i. e. **u in the function of a consonant) did not occur in OHG. manuscripts, but was generally represented by **uu** (**uv**, **vu**, **vv**), and had the same sound-value as the **w** in English **wit**. It was also sometimes written **u(v)**, see above under **u(v)**. In this grammar we shall generally write **w**.

x occurred almost exclusively in loan-words.

z had a twofold pronunciation. It had the sound-value **ts** (= NHG. **z**), initially, as also medially and finally after consonants, and when it arose from older **tt**. Examples are:—**zan**, *tooth*, **lenzo**, *spring*, **holz**, *wood*, **hērza**, *heart*, **suarz**, *black*, **scaz**, *money*, cp. OE. **sceatt**, Goth. **skatts**; **sezzen**, OS. **settian**, *to set*. In other cases it was a kind of **s** sound, as **haz**, *hatred*, **bīzan**, *to bite*, **ëzzan**, *to eat*. In this grammar the **ts** sound is represented by **z**, and the **s** sound by **ẓ**.

PHONETIC SURVEY OF THE OHG. SOUND-SYSTEM.

§ 14.

A. Vowels.

<i>Guttural</i>	{ Short	a, o, u
	{ Long	ā, ō, ū
<i>Palatal</i>	{ Short	ë, e, i
	{ Long	ē, ī

§ 15.

B. Consonants.

	LABIAL.	INTER-DENTAL.	DENTAL.	GUT-TURAL.
<i>Explosives</i>	Voiceless p, pp		t, tt	k, kk
	Voiced b, bb		d, dd	g, gg
<i>Spirants</i>	Voiceless f	th (?)	{ s, ss z, zz	h, hh(ch)
	Voiced	th (dh)		g
<i>Nasals</i>	m, mm		n, nn	n
<i>Liquids</i>			l, ll; r, rr	
<i>Semi-vowels</i>	w, j (palatal)			

To these must further be added the aspirate **h** and the three affricatae (i. e. an explosive + a homorganic spirant) **z** (i. e. **ts**), **pf** (**ph**), and the Upper German **kh** (**ch**), i. e. **k** + the **ch** sound in Scotch **loch**.

§ 16. A diphthong is the combination of a sonantal with a consonantal vowel. The sonantal vowel is the bearer of the stress (accent) in the syllable in which it occurs. All the OHG. diphthongs, **ei**, **ie** (**ea**, **ia**), **io** (**eo**), **iu**, **ou** (**au**), and **uo** (**ua**), were falling diphthongs, that is, the stress fell upon the first of the two elements.

§ 17. The double consonants, **nn**, **tt**, &c., must be pronounced long as in Italian and Swedish, thus **rinnan**, *to run*, as **rin-nan**. They were uniformly shortened (simplified) when they became final or came to stand before other consonants, and also frequently medially when preceded by a long vowel, as **rinnan**, *to run*, pret. singular **ran**; **bren-**

nen, to burn, pret. singular **branta** ; **slāfan** beside **slāffan**, to sleep. See § 223. In NHG. double consonants are never long, they merely indicate that the preceding vowel is short, as **brennen**, **bitten**, &c.

2. THE MIDDLE HIGH GERMAN PERIOD.

A. THE VOWELS.

§ 18. MHG. had the following simple vowels and diphthongs :—

Short vowels **a, ä, ë, e, i, o, u, ö, ü.**

Long vowels **ā, æ, ē, ī, ō, ū, œ, iu.**

Diphthongs **ei, ie, ou, uo, öu (eu), üe.**

Of the above vowels and diphthongs **a, ë, e, i, o, u ; ā, ē, ī, ō, ū ; ei, ie, ou, and uo** had the same sound-values as in OHG. The remaining vowels and diphthongs : **ä, ö, ü ; æ, œ ; öu (eu), and üe** arose from the i-umlaut of OHG. **a** (before those consonant combinations which prevented umlaut from taking place in OHG., § 60), **o, u ; ā, ō ; ou, and uo.** See § 79. MHG. **iu** (= **ū**) partly represented the OHG. diphthong **iu** (as **biutit** = MHG. **biutet**, *he offers*, § 85) and partly the umlaut of **ū** (OHG. **hūsir**, MHG. **hiuser**, *houses*, § 79). The fact that the umlaut of **ū** was written **iu** in MHG. shows that the old diphthong had already become **ū** in late OHG., although the **iu** was retained in writing. MHG. **ä** and **æ** were very open e-sounds, the former like the **a** in standard English **man**, and the latter like the **ai** in English **air**.

The following key-words will serve to illustrate the MHG. vowel-sounds which did not occur in OHG.:—

ä as in Engl.	man	mähte (pl.), <i>powers</i>
æ „ „	air	lære , <i>empty</i>
ö „ NHG.	löcher	löcher , <i>holes</i>
œ „ „	schön	schœene , <i>beautiful</i>
ü „ „	füllen	vüllen , <i>to fill</i>

iu as in NHG. <i>müde</i>	{ <i>hiuser, houses</i> <i>biutet, he offers</i>
öu (eu) = ö or e + u	{ <i>dröuwen, to threaten</i> <i>dreuwen</i>
üe = ü + e	<i>grüezen, to greet</i>

To the above list should be added the MHG. *e* in unaccented syllables, which mostly arose from the weakening of the OHG. full vowels, as OHG. *zunga, hirti, namo, fridu* = MHG. *zunge, hirte, name, fride*. The *e* in this position was pronounced like the *-e* in NHG. *zunge, name, friede, &c.*

B. THE CONSONANTS.

§ 19. The MHG. consonant-system was represented by the following letters:—*b, c, ch, d, f, g, h, j, k, l, m, n, p, q, r, s, sch, t, v, w, x, z, z.*

The letters *c, ch, f, h, j, k, l, m, n, p, pf (ph), q, r, t, w, x, z, z* had the same sound-values as in OHG. The remaining consonants require special attention.

The consonants *b, d, g* were not voiced explosives like English and NHG. *b, d, g*, but were voiceless lenes and only differed from the fortes *p, t, k* in being produced with less force (§ 226). A similar difference existed between intervocalic *v, s* and final *f, s* (§ 226). In MHG., and probably also in late OHG., the lenes *b, d, g, v, s* regularly became the fortes *p, t, c, v, s* at the end of a word, and also medially when followed by a consonant, as gen. *lîbes, tōdes, tages, hoves, glases* beside nom. *lîp, life, tōt, death, tac, day, hof, court, glas, glass; gelouben, to believe, pret. geloupte, &c.* See § 225.

c and *k* represented the same sound. The latter was generally used at the beginning, and the former at the end of a syllable, as *kunst, art, trinken, to drink, pret. tranc; senken, to sink, pret. sancte.*

§ 20. Double consonants were pronounced long as in OHG., as *bit-ter*, *rin-nen*, *vül-len*, &c.

3. THE NEW HIGH GERMAN PERIOD.

§ 21. A table of the NHG. vowel-system will be found in § 140. It should be noted that the short vowels are open and the long vowels close.^d *ä* and *äu* are generally used in words which have beside them obviously related forms without umlaut, as *gäste*, *älter*, *bäume*, *häuser* beside *gast*, *alt*, *baum*, *haus* (§§ 90, 132). The historical distinction between MHG. *ë*, *ä*, and *e* no longer exists in the North German pronunciation of the standard language. All three sounds are pronounced as open *e*, like the *e* in English *get*, *men*, when they have remained short. When MHG. *ë*, *ä*, and *e* have been lengthened (§ 90) they have become close *e* (as in *nehmen*) in the language of the stage, but when written *ä*, as in *väter*, *ähnlich*, *gebären*, many people pronounce it as long open *æ* (as in English *air*). This distinction is arbitrary and entirely due to the influence of the orthography. On the use of *h* in NHG. to indicate long vowels, see § 280.

§ 22. On special points connected with the pronunciation of the consonants, the student should consult § 227 for *b*, *d*, *g*, *f*, *s*; § 228 for *p*, *t*, *k*, and § 245 for *r*. *ch* is palatal after the palatal vowels *e*, *i*, *ö*, *ü*, as *pech*, *ich*, *löcher*, *bücher*, but guttural after the guttural vowels *a*, *o*, *u*, as *nach*, *doch*, *buch*. Double consonants are short and merely indicate that the preceding vowel is short (§ 224).

STRESS (ACCENT).

§ 23. All the Indo-Germanic languages have partly pitch (musical) and partly stress accent, but one or other of the two systems of accentuation always predominates in each language, thus in Sanskrit and Old Greek the accent was predominantly pitch, whereas in the oldest periods of

the Italic dialects, and the Keltic and Germanic languages, the accent was predominantly stress. This difference in the system of accentuation is clearly seen in Old Greek and the old Germanic languages by the preservation of the vowels of unaccented syllables in the former and the weakening or loss of them in the latter. In the early period of the parent Indg. language, the stress accent must have been more predominant than the pitch accent, because it is only upon this assumption that we are able to account for the origin of the vowels *ī, ū, ə* (§ 30, note 1), the liquid and nasal sonants (§§ 48–51), and the loss of vowel often accompanied by a loss of syllable, as in Greek gen. *πα-τρ-ός* beside acc. *πα-τέρ-α*; *πέτ-ομαι* beside *ἐ-πτ-όμην*; Gothic gen. pl. *aúhs-nē* beside acc. **aúhsa-ns*. It is now a generally accepted theory that at a later period of the parent language the system of accentuation became predominantly pitch, which was preserved in Sanskrit and Old Greek, but which must have become predominantly stress again in prim. Germanic sometime prior to the operation of Verner's law (§ 199).

The quality of the accent in the parent language was partly 'broken' (acute) and partly 'slurred' (circumflex). This distinction in the quality of the accent was preserved in prim. Germanic in final syllables containing a long vowel, as is seen by the difference in the development of the final long vowels in historic times according as they originally had the 'broken' or 'slurred' accent (§ 162, 3).

In the parent language the chief accent of a word did not always fall upon the same syllable of a word, but was free or movable as in Sanskrit and Greek, cp. e. g. Gr. nom. *πατήρ*, *father*, voc. *πάτερ*, acc. *πατέρα*; Skr. *émi*, *I go*, pl. *imás*, *we go*. This free accent was still preserved in prim. Germanic at the time when Verner's law operated, whereby the voiceless spirants became voiced when the vowel immediately preceding them did not bear the chief

accent of the word (§ 199). At a later period of the prim. Germanic language the chief accent of a word became confined to the root- or stem-syllable. This confining of the chief accent to the root-syllable was the cause of the great weakening—and eventual loss—which the vowels underwent in unaccented syllables in the prehistoric period of the individual Germanic languages (§ 162). And the extent to which the weakening of unaccented syllables has been carried in some of the Modern Germanic dialects is well illustrated by such sentences as, *as et it mōæn, I shall have it in the morning*; *ast ə dunt if id kud, I should have done it if I had been able* (West Yorks.).

§ 24. The rule for the accentuation of uncompounded words is the same in German as in the other Germanic languages, viz. the chief stress falls upon the stem-syllable and always remains there even when suffixes and inflexional endings follow it. This syllable is always the first of the word. The position of the secondary stress in trisyllabic and polysyllabic words fluctuated in OHG. and MHG. just as it does in NHG. In words containing such suffixes as *-bar, -in(n), -ing (-ling), -lein, -lich, -nis, -sal, -sam, -ung, &c.*, the suffix must have had the secondary stress in MHG. as in NHG., which accounts for the preservation of the full vowel.

NOTE.—In a few words the chief stress has been shifted from the first to the second syllable in NHG., as *forelle* (MHG. *fórhel, fórelle*), *hornisse* (MHG. *hórniſz*), *holunder* (MHG. *hó-lunder*), *lebendig* (MHG. *lébendic*), *wacholder* (MHG. *wáchalter*), *massholder* (MHG. *mázolter*), *schmarotzen* older *schmarutzen*. The change of stress is probably due to their having been mistaken for foreign or compound words. Similarly in *hermelin* (MHG. *hérmelīn*).

§ 25. In compound words it is necessary to distinguish between compounds whose second element is a noun or an adjective, and those whose second element is a verb. In the

former case the first element had the chief accent in the parent Indg. language ; in the latter case the first element had or had not the chief accent according to the position of the verb in the sentence. But already in prim. Germanic the second element of compound verbs nearly always had the chief accent ; a change which was mostly brought about by the compound and simple verb existing side by side. In all periods of the German language it has been the rule for the chief accent to fall upon the second element of compound verbs, when the first element was inseparable, and for the chief accent to fall upon the first element when it was separable. Verbs like *antworten*, *herbergen*, *massregeln*, *urteilen*, &c., are no exception to the rule, because all such verbs have been formed direct from nouns, cp. *urteil* beside *erteilen*.

§ 26. As has been stated above, compound words whose second element is a noun or an adjective had originally the chief accent on the first syllable. This simple rule has in a great measure been preserved in German, as *antwort*, *beispiel*, *eigenhändig*, *grossmütig*, *imbiss*, *missbrauch*, *missgestalt*, *rückkehr*, *urlaub*, *vollmacht*, *vollständig*, *schreibtisch*, &c. Words like *entgelt*, *entsprechung*, *ertrag*, *misshandlung*, *übersetzung*, *unterhaltung*, *unterhaltsam*, *verlust*, *verstand*, *vollendung*, &c., with the chief accent on the second element, are no exception to the rule, because all such words have been formed direct from the corresponding verbs : *entgelten*, *entsprechen*, *ertragen*, &c.

Already in OHG. and MHG. many nouns were formed from verbs containing an inseparable particle, and accordingly had the chief accent on the second element. The same rule also holds good for similar nouns and adjectives in NHG. In like manner the prefix *ge-* (OHG. *gi-*) was already unaccented in the oldest period of the language—probably partly also in prim. Germanic—and therefore nouns compounded with it have the chief accent on the

second element in NHG., as *gebäude, gebirge, gebot, geduld, gesicht, getreide, gewalt*, &c.

In compound nouns the first element of which is used attributively, the accent varies according as the first or the second element of the compound is the more important, as *grössmutter, jungfrau*, but *viertelstunde, nordwest, südwest*, &c. This difference also existed in OHG.

The chief accent has been shifted in a large number of compound adjectives, and adjectives derived from compounds, especially when they end in *-ig* and *-lich*, as *allmächtig, alltäglich, ausführlich, barmherzig, eigentümlich, freiwillig, vortrefflich, vorzüglich, wahrhaftig, wahrscheinlich*, &c., whence nouns formed from such adjectives also have the chief accent on the second element, as *barmherzigkeit, wahrhaftigkeit, wahrscheinlichkeit*.

Many adjectives have a fluctuating accent according to their position in the sentence, as *zweiundzwanzig*, but *zweiundzwanzig mann*; *er ist blutjung*, but *er ist ein blutjunger mensch*; and similarly with *bettelarm, hochfein, stockblind, taubstumm, wildfremd*, &c. In a few adjectives the meaning varies according as the chief accent is on the first or second element, as *blutarm, steinreich, unhaltbar*.

In adjectives compounded with *un-* the first element generally has the chief accent, when there is a corresponding positive adjective in common use, as *unecht, unfreundlich, unfruchtbar, ungehorsam, ungnädig, unklar, unlieb, unrecht*, &c.; but adjectives, with *un-*, derived from verbs and generally ending in *-bar, -lich*, and often in *-haft, -ig, -sam*, usually have the chief accent on the stem-syllable, as *unaufhörlich, unaufhaltsam, unbegreiflich, unberechenbar, undenkbar, unendlich, unentgeltlich, unerträglich, unmöglich, unsäglich, unstreitig, unzählig, unzweifelhaft*, &c. This distinction in the two classes of adjectives compounded with *un-* existed already in OHG. In the latter class of adjectives

tives the tendency to shift the chief accent is far more common in North than in South German.

§ 27. In compound adverbs the first element has the chief or secondary accent according as it is the more or less important element of the compound, as *auswärts*, *dámals*, *diesseits*, *innerhalb*, *jenseits*, *kréuzweise*, *vórmals*, but *allenthálben*, *allerdings*, *bergáb*, *sofórt*, *überáll*.

§ 28. Loan-words, borrowed at an early period, generally have the chief accent on the same syllable as they would have if they were native words, as *dichten*, *münster*, *münze*, *ordentlich* (with native suffix), *Pfalz*, *pfropfen*, &c. But Romance words borrowed at a later period generally have the chief accent on the last syllable or on one of the last syllables, as *adresse*, *appetit*, *armee*, *cousine*, *disputieren*, *kapelle*, *offizier*, *originell*, *nervös*, *papier*. The same rule holds good with native words having foreign endings, as *bäckerei*, *brauerei*, *halbieren*, *hofieren*, &c.

§ 29. In compounds the chief secondary accent usually falls upon that syllable of the second element which would have the chief accent if it were used alone, as *gütsbesítzer*, *háusfráu*, *strássenbahnwágen*, *zweíghedrig*, &c. It should be noted that the secondary accent is generally stronger in compounds than in derivatives. But already in MHG., and probably also in late OHG., there was a tendency, in accordance with the prevailing rhythm of the language, to shift the chief secondary accent so as to have a regular alternation between strong and weak accented syllables, as in NHG. *ánmerkúngen*, *únbrauchbár*, *únvorsíchtig*, *vórrur-tèil*, *úr-grossväter*, *úrsprúnglich*, &c.

CHAPTER II

THE PRIMITIVE GERMANIC EQUIVALENTS
OF THE INDO-GERMANIC VOWEL-SOUNDS

§ 30. The parent Indo-Germanic language had the following vowel-system :—

Short vowels	a, e, i, o, u, ə
Long „	ā, ē, ī, ō, ū
Short diphthongs	ai, ei, oi, au, eu, ou
Long „	āi, ēi, ōi, āu, ēu, ōu
Short vocalic	l, m, n, r

NOTE.—1. The short vowels *i, u, ə*, the long vowels *ī, ū*, and vocalic *l, m, n, r* occurred originally only in syllables which did not bear the principal accent of the word.

The short vowels *i, u*, and vocalic *l, m, n, r* arose from the loss of *e* in the strong forms *ei, eu, el, em, en, er*, which was caused by the principal accent having been shifted to some other syllable in the word.

ə, the quality of which cannot be precisely defined, arose from the weakening of an original *ā, ē*, or *ō*, caused by the loss of accent.

ī and *ū* were contractions of weak diphthongs which arose from the strong forms *eiə, āi, ēi, ōi*; *euə, āu, ēu, ōu* through the loss of accent. The *e* in *eiə, euə* had disappeared before the contraction took place. See § 23.

2. The long diphthongs *āi, ēi, &c.*, were of rare occurrence in the parent language, and their history in the prehistoric period of the various branches of the Indo-Germanic languages, except when final, is still somewhat obscure. In stem syllables they were generally either shortened to *ai, ei, &c.*, or the second element (*i, u*) disappeared. In final syllables they were generally shortened to *ai, ei, &c.* In this book no further account will be taken of the Indg. long diphthongs in stem syllables. For their treatment in final syllables in Primitive Germanic, see § 162, 3.

3. Upon theoretical grounds it is generally assumed that the parent language contained long vocalic **l**, **m**, **n**, **r**. But their history in the various Indg. languages is still uncertain. In any case they were of very rare occurrence, and are therefore left out of consideration in this book.

§ 31. **a** (Lat. **a**, Gr. *α*) remained, as Lat. **ager**, Gr. *ἀγρός*, Goth. **akrs**, OS. **akkar**, OHG. **ackar**, *field, acre*; Lat. **aqua**, Goth. **alva**, OHG. **aha**, *water*; Lat. **dacruma** (*lacruma*), Gr. *δάκρυ*, Goth. **tagr**, OHG. **zahar**, *tear*.

§ 32. **e** (Lat. **e**, Gr. *ε*) remained, as Lat. **ferō**, Gr. *φέρω*, *I bear*, OHG. OS. OE. **beran**, *to bear*; Lat. **edō**, Gr. *ἔδομαι*, *I eat*, OHG. **ëzzan**, OS. OE. **etan**, O. Icel. **eta**, *to eat*; Lat. **pellis**, Gr. *πέλλα*, OHG. **fël**, OE. **fell**, *skin, hide*.

§ 33. **i** (Lat. **i**, Gr. *ι*) remained, as Gr. Hom. *φῖδμεν*, Goth. **witum**, OE. **witon**, OS. **witun**, OHG. **wizzum**, *we know*; cp. Lat. **vidēre**, *to see*; Lat. **piscis**, Goth. **fisks**, OE. **fisc**, OS. OHG. **fisk**, *fish*.

§ 34. **o** (Lat. **o**, Gr. *ο*) became **a** in stem syllables, as Lat. **octō**, Gr. *ὀκτώ*, Goth. **ahtáu**, OS. OHG. **ahto**, *eight*; Lat. **hostis**, *stranger, enemy*, Goth. **gasts**, OS. OHG. **gast**, *guest*.

§ 35. **u** (Lat. **u**, Gr. *υ*) remained, as Gr. *κυνός* (gen. sing.), Goth. **hunds**, OE. **hund**, OHG. **hunt**, *dog, hound*; Gr. *θύρᾱ*, OE. **duru**, OS. **duri**, OHG. **turi**, *door*; Lat. **gustus**, *taste*, Goth. **ga-kusts**, OS. OHG. **kust**, *test, choice*.

§ 36. **ə** became **a** in all the Indo-Germanic languages, except in the Aryan branch, where it became **i**, as Gr. *πατήρ*, Lat. **pater**, OIr. **athir**, Goth. **fadar**, OHG. **fater**, Skr. **pitár** (from **pátér*), *father*; Gr. *στατός*, Lat. **status**, Skr. **sthitás**, *standing*, Goth. **staps**, OHG. **stat**, *place*.

§ 37. **ā** (Lat. **ā**, Gr. Doric *ā*, Attic, Ionic *η*) became **ō**, as Lat. **māter**, Gr. Dor. *μᾶτηρ*, OE. **mōdor**, OS. **mōdar**, *mother*; Gr. Dor. *φράτηρ*, *member of a clan*, Lat. **frāter**, Goth. **brōþar**, OE. **brōðor**, OS. **brōthar**, *brother*; Lat.

fāgus, *beech*, Gr. Dor. φᾱγός, *a kind of oak*, Goth. **bōka**, *letter of the alphabet*, OE. **bōc-trēow**, *beech-tree*, OS. O. Icel. **bōk**, *beech*.

§ 38. ē (Lat. ē, Gr. η) remained, but it is generally written æ (= Goth. ē, OE. æ, OS. OHG. ā) in works on Germanic philology, as Lat. **ēdimus**, Goth. **ētum**, OE. **æton**, OHG. **āzum**, *we ate*; Lat. **mēnsis**, Gr. μῆν, *month*, Goth. **mēna**, OS. OHG. **māno**, *moon*; Goth. **ga-dēps**, OE. **dæd**, OS. **dād**, OHG. **tāt**, *deed*, related to Gr. θή-σω, *I shall place*.

§ 39. ī (Lat. ī, Gr. ι) remained, as Lat. **su-īnus** (adj.), *belonging to a pig*, Goth. **swein**, OE. OS. OHG. **swīn**, *swine, pig*; Lat. **sīmus**, OHG. **sīm**, *we may be*.

§ 40. ō (Lat. ō, Gr. ω) remained, as Gr. πλωτός, *swimming*, Goth. **flōdus**, OE. OS. **flōd**, *flood, tide*, cp. Lat. **plōrāre**, *to weep aloud*; Gr. Dor. πός, Goth. **fōtus**, OE. OS. **fōt**, *foot*.

§ 41. ū (Lat. ū, Gr. υ) remained, as Lat. **mūs**, Gr. μῦς, OE. OHG. **mūs**, *mouse*; Lat. **sūs**, Gr. ῑς, OE. OHG. **sū**, *sow, pig*; Goth. **fūls**, OE. OHG. **fūl**, *foul*, related to Gr. πύθω, *I make to rot*, Lat. **pūteō**, *I smell bad*.

§ 42. ai (Lat. ae (ē), Gr. αι, Goth. ái, OE. ā, OS. ē, OHG. ei (ē)) remained, as Lat. **aedēs**, originally *fire-place, hearth*, Gr. αῖθω, *I burn*, OE. **ād**, OHG. **eit**, *funeral pile, ignis, rokus*; Lat. **aevum**, Gr. αἰών (older αἰφών), Goth. **áiws**, OHG. **ēwa**, *time, life-time, eternity*.

§ 43. ei (Lat. ī (older ei), Gr. ει) became ī, as Gr. στείχω, *I go*, Goth. **steigan** (ei = ī), OE. OS. OHG. **stīgan**, *to ascend*; Gr. λείπω, *I leave*, Goth. **leilvan**, OHG. **līhan**, *to lend*.

§ 44. oi (O. Lat. oi (later ū), Gr. οι) became ai (cp. § 34), as Gr. οἶδε, Goth. **wáit**, OE. **wāt**, OS. **wēt**, OHG. **weiz**, *he knows*; O. Lat. **oinos**, Goth. **áins**, OE. **ān**, OS. **ēn**, OHG. **ein**, *one*, cp. Gr. οἰνή, *the one on dice*.

§ 45. au (Lat. au, Gr. αυ, Goth. áu, OE. ēa, OS. ō, OHG. ou (ō)) remained, as Lat. **auris**, Goth. **áusō**, OE. **ēare**, OS. OHG. **ōra**, *ear*; Lat. **augēre**, *to increase*, Gr.

αὐξάνω, *I increase*, Goth. áukan, OHG. ouhhôn, *to add, increase*, OE. ēacen (pp.), *increased, large*.

§ 46. eu (Lat. ou (ū), Gr. εὔ) remained, as Gr. πεύθομαι, *I inquire*, prim. Germanic *beudō, *I inquire, offer*; Gr. γείω, *I give a taste of*, prim. Germ. *keusō, *I test, choose*; Indg. *deukō, Lat. doucō (dūcō), prim. Germ. *teuxō, *I lead*. See § 77.

§ 47. ou (Lat. ou (ū), Gr. ου) became au (cp. § 34), as Indg. *roudhos, Goth. ráups, OE. rēad, OS. rōd, OHG. rōt, *red*; Indg. *bhe-bhoudhe, *has waked*, Goth. báup, OE. bēad, OS. bōd, OHG. bōt, *has offered*.

§ 48. m (Lat. em, Gr. α, αμ) became um, as Gr. ἀμο- (in ἀμόθεν, *from some place or other*, § 191 (8)), Goth. sums, OE. OS. OHG. sum, *some one*; Gr. ἐκατόν, Lat. centum (with n from m by assimilation, and similarly in the Germanic languages), Goth. OE. OS. hund, OHG. hunt, *hundred*, all from a prim. form *kmtóm.

§ 49. n (Lat. en, Gr. α, αν) became un, as Lat. commentus (pp.), *invented, devised*, Gr. ἀνρό-ματος, *acting of one's own will*, Goth. ga-munds, OHG. gi-munt, *remembrance*, prim. form *mntós (pp.) from root men-, *think*; OE. wundor, OS. wundar, OHG. wuntar, *wonder*, cp. Gr. ἀθρέω (from *φαθρέω), *I gaze at*.

§ 50. r (Lat. or, Gr. αρ, ρα) became ur, ru, as OE. durren, OHG. gi-turrun, *we dare*, cp. Gr. θαρρός (θρασύς), *bold*, θαρρέω, *I am of good courage*; dat. pl. Gr. πατράσι, Goth. fadrum, OE. fæd(e)rum, *to fathers*; Lat. porca, *the ridge between two furrows*, OE. furh, OHS. furuh, *furrow*.

§ 51. l (Lat. ol, Gr. αλ, λα) became ul, lu, as Goth. fulls, OE. OS. full, OHG. vol, prim. form *plnós, *full*; Goth. wulfs, OE. OS. wulf, OHG. wolf, prim. form *wlqos, *wolf*.

NOTE.—The u in um, un, ur, ru, ul, lu had the same further development in the Germanic languages as Indo-Germanic u. See § 57.

CHAPTER III

THE PRIMITIVE GERMANIC VOWEL-SYSTEM

§ 52. From what has been said in §§ 31-51, we arrive at the following vowel-system for the prim. Germanic language:—

Short vowels	a, e, i, u
Long „	ā, ē, ī, ō, ū
Diphthongs	ai, au, eu

NOTE.—*ā* was an open e-sound like OE. *æ*. *ē* had the sound of the *ē* in NHG. *reh*. The origin of this vowel has not yet been satisfactorily explained. It is important to remember that it is never the equivalent of Indo-Germanic *ē* (§ 38) which appears as *ā* in prim. Germanic. See §§ 70-1.

§ 53. This system underwent several modifications during the prim. Germanic period, i. e. before the parent language became differentiated into the various separate Germanic languages. The most important of these changes were:—

§ 54. *a* + *ŋx* became *āx*, as Goth. OS. OHG. *fāhan*, from **faŋxanan*, to catch, seize, cp. Lat. *pangō*, I fasten; Goth. *pāhta* (inf. *pagkjan*), OS. *thāhta* (inf. *thenkian*), OHG. *dāhta* (inf. *denken*), OE. *ðōhte*, from older **paŋxta*, he thought, cp. O. Lat. *tongeō*, I know. Every prim. Germanic *ā* in accented syllables was of this origin. Cp. § 37.

NOTE.—The *ā* in the above and similar examples was still a nasalized vowel in prim. Germanic, as is seen by its development to *ō* in OE. The *ī* (§ 55) and *ū* (§ 57) were also nasalized vowels in prim. Germanic.

§ 55. *e* became *i* under the following circumstances:—

1. Before a nasal + consonant, as Goth. OE. OS. *bindan*,

OHG. *bintan*, to bind, cp. Lat. *of-fendimentum*, *chin-cloth*, *of-fendix*, *knot*, *band*, Gr. *πενθερός*, *father-in-law*; Lat. *ventus*, Goth. *winds*, OE. OS. *wind*, OHG. *wint*, *wind*; Gr. *πέντε*, Goth. *fimf*, OHG. *fimf*, *finf*, *five*. This explains why OHG. *bintan*, to bind, and *helfan*, to help, belong to the same ablaut-series. See § 186.

This *i* became *ī* under the same conditions as those by which *a* became *ā* (§ 54), as Goth. *þeihana*, OS. *thīhana*, OHG. *dīhana*, from **þinḡanan*, older **þenḡanan*, to thrive.

2. When followed by an *i*, *ī*, or *j* in the same or the next syllable, as Goth. *þreis*, OE. *ðrī*, OHG. *drī* from **þriies*, older **treies*, Gr. *τρεις*, *three*; Goth. OS. OHG. *ist* from **isti*, older **esti*, Gr. *ἔστι*, *is*; OHG. *irdīn*, *earthen*, beside *ērda*, *earth*; OHG. *ubir*, *over*, from an original form **uperi*; Goth. *midjis*, OS. *middi*, OHG. *mitti*, Lat. *medius*, from an original form **medhjos*, *middle*; OS. *birid*, OHG. *birit*, *he bears*, from an original form **bhéreti*, through the intermediate stages **béredi*, **béridi*, **bíridi*, beside inf. *beran*; OS. *sittian*, OHG. *sizzen*, from an original form **sedjonom*, to sit.

This sound-law accounts for the difference in the stem-vowels of such pairs as NHG. *berg*: *gebirge* (OHG. *gibirgi*); *erde*: *irdisch* (OHG. *irdisc*); *feld*: *gefilde* (OHG. *gifildi*); *geben*: *gift*; *herde* (OHG. *hërta*): *hirt* (OHG. *hirti*); *recht*: *richten*, *gericht* (OHG. *girihti*); *wetter*: *gewitter* (OHG. *giwitiri*); *helfen*: *hilfst*, *hilft* (OHG. *hilfis*, *hilfit*); *geben*: *gibst*, *gibt* (OHG. *gibis*, *gibit*), and similarly in the second and third person sing. of the present indic. of many other strong verbs.

3. In unaccented syllables, except in the combination *-er* when not followed by an *i* in the next syllable, as OE. *fēt*, older *fōet*, from **fōtiz*, older **fōtez*, *feet*, cp. Lat. *pedes*, Gr. *πόδες*. Indg. *e* remained in unaccented syllables in the combination *-er* when not followed by an *i* in the next syllable, as acc. OE. *fæder*, OS. *fader*, OHG. *fater*, Gr.

πατέρα, *father*; OE. *hwæðer*, OS. *hweder*, Gr. *πότερος*, *which of two*.

§ 56. *i*, followed originally by an *ǣ*, *ö*, or *ē* in the next syllable, became *e* when not protected by a nasal+consonant or an intervening *i* or *j*, as OE. OS. OHG. *wer*, Lat. *vir*, from an original form **wiros*, *man*; OE. OHG. *nest*, Lat. *nīdus*, from **nizdos*, *nest*. In historic times, however, this law has a great number of exceptions owing to the separate languages having levelled out in various directions, cp. e. g. OHG. *klēb* beside OE. *clif*, *rock*, *cliff*; OHG. *quēc* beside OE. *cwic*, *quick*, *alive*, cp. Lat. *vīvos* (*vīvus*); OHG. *lēbara* beside OE. *lifer*, *liver*; OHG. *lēbēn* beside OE. *libban*, *to live*; OHG. *lēccōn* beside OE. *liccian*, *to lick*; OHG. *wēhha* beside OS. *wika*, *week*; OHG. *lērnen* beside *lirnēn*, *to learn*; OHG. *wēssa* beside *wissa*, *he knew*.

§ 57. *u*, followed originally by an *ǣ*, *ö*, or *ē* in the next syllable, became *o* when not protected by a nasal+consonant or an intervening *i* or *j*, as OE. *dohtor*, OS. *dohter*, OHG. *tohter*, Gr. *θυγάτηρ*, *daughter*; OHG. *fol* (*vol*) from an original form **plnós* (§ 51), *full*, beside OHG. *fulli*, *fullness*; OE. OS. *god*, OHG. *got*, from an original form **ghutóm*, *God*; OE. *geoc*, OHG. *joh*, Gr. *ζυγόν*, *yoke*; OHG. *hogēn* beside *huggen*, OS. *huggian*, Goth. *hugjan*, *to think*; pp. OE. *geholpen*, OS. *giholpan*, OHG. *giholfan*, *helped*, beside pp. OE. *gebunden*, OS. *gibundan*, OHG. *gibuntan*, *bound*; pp. OE. *geboden*, OHG. *gibotan*, *offered*, beside pret. pl. OE. *budon*, OHG. *butum*, *we offered*.

Every prim. Germanic *o* in accented syllables was of this origin. Cp. § 34.

This sound-law accounts for the difference in the stem vowels of such pairs as NHG. *dorren* (OHG. *dorrēn*): *dürr* (OHG. *durri*); *geloben*: *gelübde* (OHG. *gilubida*); *gold*: *gulden* (OHG. *guldīn*); *hold*: *huld* (OHG. *huldī*);

knopf: **knüpfen** (OHG. **knupfen**, older ***knupjan**); **tor** beside **tür** (OHG. **turi**); **voll:** **fülle** (OHG. **fullī**); **vor:** **für** (OHG. **furi**).

u became **ū** under the same circumstances as those by which **a** and **i** became **ā** and **ī**, as pret. third pers. sing. Goth. **þūhta**, OS. **thūhta**, OE. **þūhte**, OHG. **dūhta**, *seemed*, beside inf. Goth. **þugkjan**, OHG. **dunken**, *to seem*.

§ 58. From what has been said in §§ 53-7, it will be seen that the prim. Germanic vowel-system had assumed the following shape before the differentiation into dialects of the Germanic parent language:—

Short vowels	a, e, i, o, u
Long	„ ā, æ, ē, ī, ō, ū
Diphthongs	ai, au, eu

The further development of these sounds in Old High German will be briefly discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER IV

THE OHG. DEVELOPMENT OF THE GENERAL GERMANIC VOWEL-SYSTEM

A. THE SHORT VOWELS OF ACCENTED SYLLABLES.

a

§ 59. Germanic **a** generally remained unchanged in OHG., as OHG. **ackar**, OS. **akkar**, Goth. **akrs**, *field, acre*; OHG. OS. **ahto**, Goth. **ahtáu**, *eight*; OHG. OS. OE. Goth. **faran**, *to go*; OHG. **fater**, Goth. **fadar**, *father*; OHG. OS. **gast**, Goth. **gasts**, *guest*; OHG. **tag**, OS. **dag**, Goth. **dags**, *day*; OHG. **bant**, OS. OE. Goth. **band**,

he bound; OHG. OS. Goth. **nam**, *he took*; OHG. **gab**, OS. Goth. **gaf**, *he gave*.

§ 80. **a** became **e** (umlaut, § 79) when originally followed by an **i** or **j** in the next syllable, as **ferit**, *he goes*, inf. **faran**; nom. pl. **kelbir**, *calves*, **gesti**, *guests*, beside nom. sing. **kalb**, **gast**; inf. **nerien** (Goth. **nasjan**), *to save*; **brennen** (Goth. **brannjan**), *to burn*; **heri** (Goth. **harjis**), *army*; **lengi**, *length*, beside **lang**, *long*. This i-umlaut of **a** did not take place in the following cases:—

1. Before **ht**, **hs**, or consonant + **w**, as **maht**, *power*, pl. **mahti**; **wahsit**, *he grows*, inf. **wahsan**; **bi-scatwen** from ***scatwjan**, *to shade*.

2. In Upper German before **l** + consonant, before **hh**, **ch** (= Germanic **k**, § 217), and often before **r** + consonant, and before **h** (= Germanic **h**), as UG. **haltit** beside UFr. **heltit**, *he holds*, inf. **haltan**; UG. **altiro** beside UFr. **eltiro**, *older*; UG. **sachit** beside UFr. **sehhit**, *he quarrels*, inf. **sachan**, Goth. **sakan**; UG. **warmen** beside **wermen**, Goth. **warmjan**, *to warm*; **slahit** beside **slehit**, *he strikes*, inf. OHG. Goth. **slahan**.

3. In words ending in **-nissi**, **-nissa**, or **-lih**, as **firstant-nissi**, *understanding*; **infancnissa**, *assumption*; **kraftlih**, *strong*; **tagalih**, *daily*.

The first traces of the i-umlaut of **a** are found about the middle of the eighth century. From then onwards umlaut is met with more and more frequently until in the early part of the ninth century the process was practically complete except in certain combinations named above. In the oldest monuments the umlaut of **a** was sometimes written **ę**, **ae**, **ai**, or **ei**, and at that period it was doubtless an open **e**-sound like the **e** in Engl. **bed**, but it probably became a close **e**-sound like the **é** in French **été** already in the early part of the ninth century. Umlaut **e** and Germanic **ë** are still kept apart in many NHG. dialects, the former being close and the latter open.

e

§ 61. Germanic **e** (usually written **ë** in order to distinguish it from the **e** which arose from the **i**-umlaut of **a**) generally remained in OHG., as OHG. OS. OE. **weg**, *way*; OHG. OS. OE. **helm**, *helm*; OHG. **helfan**, OS. OE. **helpan**, *to help*; OHG. OS. OE. **stelan**, *to steal*; OHG. **ëzzan**, OS. OE. **etan**, *to eat*.

§ 62. Germanic **e** became **i** in OHG. when followed by a **u** in the next syllable, as **hilfu**, *I help*, **nimu**, *I take*, **gibu**, *I give*, beside inf. **helfan**, **nëman**, **gëban**; OHG. **sibun**, OS. **sebun**, Lat. **septem**, *seven*; OHG. **fihu**, Lat. **pecu**, *cattle*; OHG. **filu**, OE. **fela**, from an original ***pelu**, *much*. This law has many exceptions due to new formations where the **ë** was regular, thus **fëhu** beside **fihu** is due to levelling out the oblique stem form, as gen. **fëhes**, dat. **fëhe**.

§ 63. On the OHG. change of **e** to **i** in the general Germanic combination **eww** (= Goth. **iggw**) and in the West Germanic combination **eww** from **ewj**, see § 232.

§ 64. On OHG. forms like **lirnën**, *to learn*, **wissa**, *I knew*, **skif**, *ship*, **skirm**, *protection*, beside **lërnën**, **wëssa**, **skëf**, **skërm**, see § 56.

§ 65. In a few words **ë** became **o** through the influence of a preceding **w**, as **woche** (late OHG.), *week*, **wola** (adv.), *well*, **worolt**, *world*, beside **wëcha**, **wëla**, **wëralt**.

i

§ 66. Germanic **i** remained in OHG., as OHG. **fisk**, OS. OE. **fisc**, Goth. **fisks**, *fish*; OHG. **wituwa**, OS. **widowa**, OE. **widewe**, Goth. **widuwō**, *widow*; OHG. **wizzan**, OS. OE. Goth. **witan**, *to know*; OHG. **bizzum**, OE. **biton**, Goth. **bitum**, *we bit*; pp. OHG. **gibizzan**, OE. **biten**, Goth. **bitans**, *bitten*.

o

§ 67. Germanic **o**, which arose from an older **u** (§ 57), remained in OHG., as OHG. **got**, OS. OE. **god**, *God*;

OHG. *tohter*, OS. *dohtar*, OE. *dohtor*, *daughter*; pp. OHG. *gibotan*, OS. *gibodan*, OE. *boden*, *offered*; pp. OHG. *giholfan*, OS. *giholpan*, OE. *holpen*, *helped*; pp. OHG. OS. *giboran*, OE. *boren*, *borne*; pret. OHG. *worhta*, OE. *worhte*, *he worked*, beside OHG. inf. *wurken* from older **wurkjan*.

u

§ 68. Germanic *u* remained in OHG., as OHG. OS. OE. *sunu*, Goth. *sunus*, *son*; OHG. OS. *wurm*, stem *wurmi-*, *worm*; OHG. *huggen*, OS. *huggian*, Goth. *hugjan*, *to think*; OHG. *wullin*, *woollen*, *guldin*, *golden*, beside *wolla*, *wool*, *gold*, *gold*; inf. *wurken*, from older **wurkjan*, *to work*, beside pret. *worhta*; pret. pl. OHG. *butum*, OS. *budun*, OE. *budon*, Goth. *budum*, *we offered*; pret. pl. OHG. *buntum*, OS. *bundun*, OE. *bundon*, Goth. *bundum*, *we bound*; pp. OHG. *gibuntan*, OS. *gibundan*, OE. *bunden*, Goth. *bundans*, *bound*.

B. THE LONG VOWELS OF ACCENTED SYLLABLES.

ā

§ 69. Germanic *ā*, which arose from *a* (according to § 54), remained in OHG., as OHG. OS. Goth. *fāhan*, *to catch, seize*; OHG. OS. Goth. *hāhan*, *to hang*, beside OHG. pp. *gihangan*; pret. sing. OHG. *dāhta*, OS. *thāhta*, Goth. *pāhta*, *I thought*, beside inf. OHG. *denken*, Goth. *þagkjan*; pret. OHG. OS. Goth. *brāhta*, *I brought*, beside OHG. inf. *bringen*, *to bring*.

ǣ

§ 70. Germanic *ǣ* (= OS. *ā*, OE. *ǣ*, Goth. *ē*) became *ā* in OHG., as OHG. *tāt*, OS. *dād*, OE. *dǣd*, Goth. *ga-dēps*, *deed*; OHG. *sāt*, OS. *sād*, OE. *sǣd*, *seed*; OHG. *rātan*, OS. *rādan*, OE. *rǣdan*, *to advise*; OHG. *bārum*, OE. *bāron*, Goth. *bērum*, *we bore*; OHG. *sāzum*, OS.

sātun, OE. sāton, Goth. sētum, *we sat*; OHG. lāzan, OS. lātan, OE. lātan, Goth. lētan, *to let, allow*; OHG. slāfan, OS. slāpan, OE. slāpan, Goth. slēpan, *to sleep*.

ē

§ 71. Germanic ē, which cannot be traced back phonologically to Indo-Germanic ē (§ 52, note), is of obscure origin. In Gothic the two sounds fell together in ē, but in the other Germanic languages they were kept quite apart, thus Indg. ē = Goth. ē, OE. æ, OHG. OS. O.Icel. ā (§ 38), but Germanic ē = Goth. OS. OE. O.Icel. ē.

Germanic ē remained in the oldest period of High German. In the eighth century ea appears beside ē. In the first half of the ninth century this ea became ia, ie. ie is the OHG. normal form from about the middle of the ninth century. Examples are: OHG. hiar, &c., OS. OE. Goth. hēr, *here*; OHG. miata, &c., OS. mēda, OE. mēd, *pay, reward*; pret. sing. of the old reduplicated verbs which have a, ā, ei in the present (§ 513), as OHG. hialt, &c., *he held*, inf. haltan; giang, *he went*, inf. gangan; riat, &c., OS. OE. rēd, inf. OHG. rātan, *to advise*; hiaz, &c., OS. OE. hēt, inf. OHG. heizan, *to call*; early loan-words from Latin, as OHG. briaf, Lat. breve, *note, letter*; fiebar, Lat. febris, *fever*; spiagal, Lat. speculum, *mirror*; ziagal, Lat. tēgula, *tile*.

ī

§ 72. Germanic ī remained in OHG. as also in the oldest periods of the other Germanic languages, as OHG. bīzan, OS. OE. bītan, Goth. beitan, *to bite*; OHG. OS. OE. sīn, Goth. seins, *his*; OHG. OS. OE. swīn, Goth. swein, *pig*.

ō

§ 73. Germanic ō had become uo in stem syllables in all the OHG. dialects by about the year 900. The diphthongization of ō to uo did not take place in all the dialects

at the same time. In Upper Franconian **uo** appears beside **ō** in the middle of the eighth century, and by the end of the century **uo** is the normal form except in South Rhenish Franconian (the dialect of Otfrid), where the intermediate stage **ua** occurs during the ninth century. In Alemanic **oa** appears beside **ō** in the second half of the eighth century. By the end of the century **oa** (**ō**) had become **ua**, which remained the characteristic form for this dialect in the ninth century. Bavarian retained **ō** longer than the other dialects. In this dialect **ō** became **uo** through the intermediate stage **oa** by the end of the ninth century. Examples are OHG. **fuoꝛ**, OS. OE. **fōt**, Goth. **fōtus**, *foot*; OHG. **fluot**, OS. OE. **flōd**, Goth. **flōdus**, *flood, stream*; OHG. **fuor**, OS. OE. Goth. **fōr**, *I fared*; OHG. **suohhen**, OS. **sōkian**, Goth. **sōkjan**, *to seek*; OHG. **bluoian**, OS. **blōian**, Goth. ***blōjan**, *to bloom, blossom*.

ū

§ 74. Germanic **ū** remained in OHG. as also in the oldest periods of the other Germanic languages, as OHG. OS. OE. **hūs**, *house*, Goth. **hūs** in **gudhūs**, *temple*; OHG. OS. OE. **rūm**, Goth. **rūms**, *room*; OHG. **dūsunt**, OS. **thūsundig**, OE. **þūsend**, Goth. **þūsundi**, *thousand*; OHG. **lūhhan**, OE. **lūcan**, Goth. **ga-lūkan**, *to shut, close*; OHG. **dūhta**, OS. **thūhta**, OE. **þūhte**, Goth. **þūhta**, *it seemed*, inf. OHG. **dunken**.

C. THE DIPHTHONGS OF ACCENTED SYLLABLES.

ai

§ 75. Germanic **ai** (= OS. **ē**, OE. **ā**, Goth. **ái**) became long close **ē** (through the intermediate stage of long open **æ** often written **ae**, **ę** in the oldest OHG. monuments) before **r**, old **h** (§ 276), **w**, and when final. The contraction to a monophthong had already taken place in the early part of the eighth century. At this period it must have been an

open *ǣ* sound, otherwise it would have fallen together with Germanic *ē* (§ 52, note). Examples are: OHG. OS. *ēr*, *before*, Goth. *áir*, *soon, early*; OHG. *mēro*, OS. *mēra*, OE. *māra*, Goth. *máiza*, *greater*; OHG. *lēren*, OS. *lērian*, Goth. *láisjan*, *to teach*; OHG. *ēht*, Goth. *áihts*, *possession*; pret. sing. OHG. OS. *lēh*, OE. *lāh*, Goth. *láihv*, *I lent*; gen. OHG. OS. *snēwes*, OE. *snāwes*, *of snow*, Goth. *snáiws*, *snow*; OHG. *sēla*, older *sēula*, OS. *seola*, OE. *sāwol*, Goth. *sáiwala*, *soul*; pret. sing. OHG. *spēo*, from older **spēw*, OE. *spāw*, Goth. *spáiw*, inf. OHG. *spīwan*, *to spit*; OHG. OS. *wē*, OE. *wā*, Goth. *wái*, *woe*!; OHG. *sē*, Goth. *sái*, *lo, behold*!

In all other cases Germanic *ai* had become *ei* towards the end of the eighth century, as OHG. *heil*, OS. *hēl*, OE. *hāl*, Goth. *háils*, *hale, whole, sound*; OHG. *stein*, OS. *stēn*, OE. *stān*, Goth. *stáins*, *stone*; pret. sing. OHG. *steig*, OS. *stēg*, OE. *stāg*, Goth. *stáig*, inf. OHG. *stīgan*, *to ascend*; OHG. *heizan*, OS. *hētan*, OE. *hātan*, Goth. *háitan*, *to name, call*.

au

§ 76. Germanic *au* (OS. *ō*, OE. *ēa*, Goth. *áu*) became in OHG. long close *ō* (through the intermediate stages *ao*, *ō*) in the ninth century before the consonants *d*, *t*, *z*, *s*, *n*, *r*, *l* and old *h* (§ 276). The change from *au* to *ō* through *ao* took place in the second half of the eighth century. At this period the monophthong must have been open, otherwise it would have fallen together with Germanic *ō* (§ 73). Examples are: OHG. *tōd*, OS. *dōd*, OE. *dēaþ*, Goth. *dáuþus*, *death*; OHG. *rōt*, OS. *rōd*, OE. *rēad*, Goth. *ráuþs*, *red*; pret. sing. OHG. *gōz*, OS. *gōt*, OE. *gēat*, Goth. *gáut*, OHG. inf. *giozan*, *to pour*; pret. sing. OHG. OS. *kōs*, OE. *cēas*, Goth. *káus*, OHG. inf. *kiosan*, *to choose*; OHG. OS. *lōn*, OE. *lēan*, Goth. *láun*, *pay, reward*; OHG. OS. *ōra*, OE. *ēare*, Goth. *áusō*, *ear*; OHG. *kōl*, from Lat. *caulis*, *stalk*; OHG. OS. *hōh*, OE. *hēah*, Goth.

háuhs, *high*; pret. sing. OHG. **zōh**, OS. **tōh**, OE. **tēah**, Goth. **táuh**, OHG. inf. **ziohan**, *to draw, lead*.

Before all other consonants and when final, **au** became **ou** in OHG. about the middle of the ninth century. Examples are: OHG. **ouga**, OS. **ōga**, OE. **ēage**, Goth. **áugō**, *eye*; OHG. **houbit**, OS. **hōbid**, OE. **hēafod**, Goth. **háubip**, *head*; OHG. **goumen**, OS. **gōmian**, Goth. **gáumjan**, *to pay attention to, heed*; pret. sing. OHG. **boug**, OS. **bōg**, OE. **bēag**, Goth. **báug**, OHG. inf. **biogan**, *to bend*; pret. sing. OHG. **kou**, OE. **cēaw**, OHG. inf. **kiuwan**, *to chew*.

eu

§ 77. Original **eu** (§ 46) became **iu** in Gothic. In OS. it generally became **eo** (io) and in OE. **ēo**. But it became **iu** in OS. and **ie** in OE. when originally followed by an **i** or **j** in the next syllable. In OHG. it underwent a two-fold development.

1. **eu** became **iu** already in the eighth century when originally followed by an **i**, **j**, or **u** in the next syllable, as OHG. OS. **niuwi**, OE. **nīewe**, Goth. **niujis**, stem form **niuja-**, older **neujo-**, *new*; OHG. **liuhten**, OS. **liuhtian**, OE. **liehtan**, Goth. **liuhtjan**, older ***leuhtjan**, *to light*; OHG. **kiusit**, OS. **kiusid**, OE. **cīesð**, Goth. **kiusip**, *he chooses, tests*, OHG. inf. **kiosan**; OHG. **diutisk**, *vulgaris*, beside **diota**, *people*; OHG. **kiusu**, OE. **cēose**, *I choose*.

It also appears as **iu** in Upper German before labials and gutturals except old **h** (§ 276) when not originally followed by an **i**, **j**, or **u** in the next syllable, as Upper German **liup**, *dear*; **tiuf**, *deep*; **siuh** (OE. **sēoc**), *sick*; **liugan**, *to lie*, beside Franconian **liob**, **tiof**, **sioh**, **liogan**; UG. and Fr. **lioht**, *light*, beside **liuhten**, *to light*. A difference of pronunciation must have existed between this **iu** and the **iu** which arose from **eu** when originally followed by an **i**, **j**, or **u** in the next syllable. In the former case the **iu** became **io** in the tenth century, and by the end of

the century had become **ie** as in 2. below. Whereas in the latter case the **iu** remained.

2. In all other cases original **eu** became **eo**, which passed into **io** during the first half of the ninth century. **io** remained the regular form until the end of the tenth century and then became **ie**. Examples are: OHG. OS. **lioht**, OE. **lēoht**, Goth. **liuhap**, *a light*, cp. Gr. *λευκός*, *light, bright*; OHG. OS. **kiosan**, OE. **cēosan**, Goth. **kiusan**, *to test, choose*, cp. Gr. *γεύω* from older **γεύσω*, *I give a taste of*.

§ 78. From what has been said in §§ 59–77 it will be seen that the Germanic vowel-system assumed the following shape in the OHG. period:—

Short vowels	a, e, ë, i,	o, u
Long	„ ā, ē, ī,	ō, ū
Diphthongs	ei, ie (ia), ou, uo	
	io	
	iu	

NOTE.—In comparing OHG. forms with those of the other Germanic languages, it is important to remember that:

a, ë, o, u = the corresponding Germanic vowels.

e is the umlaut of **a** (*gast*, pl. *gesti*, *guests*, § 60).

i = (1) Germ. **i** (§ 66), (2) Germ. **e** when followed by a **u** in the next syllable in OHG. (inf. *nëman*, but *nimu*, *I take*, § 62).

ā = (1) Germ. **ā** (§ 69), (2) Germ. **æ** (*slāfan*, OE. *slæpan*, *to sleep*, § 70).

ē = Germ. **ai** before **r**, old **h, w**, and when final (*mēro*, Goth. *máiza*, *greater*, § 75).

ī, ū = Germ. **ī, ū**.

ō = Germ. **au** before **d, t, z, s, n, r, l**, and old **h** (*tōd*, Goth. *dáuþus*, *death*, § 76).

ei = Germ. **ai** (*weiz*, Goth. *wáit*, *he knows*, § 75).

ie = Germ. **ē** (*hier*, OE. *hēr*, *here*, § 71).

io = Germ. **eu** (*lioht*, *a light*, cp. Gr. *λευκός*, *light, bright*, § 77).

iu = Germ. **eu** when originally followed by an **i, j**, or **u** in the next syllable (*diutisk*, *vulgaris*, beside *diota*, *people*, § 77).

ou = Germ. **au** (*ouga*, Goth. *áugō*, § 76).

uo = Germ. **ō** (*fuoꝛ*, OE. *fōt*, *foot*, § 73).

CHAPTER V

THE MHG. DEVELOPMENT OF THE OHG.
VOWEL-SYSTEM IN ACCENTED
SYLLABLES

A. UMLAUT.

§ 79. By umlaut is meant the modification (palatalization) of an accented vowel through the influence of an *i* or *j* in the following syllable. The only vowel which underwent this change in OHG. was *a*, which became close *e*.

The change is first met with in OHG. monuments about the middle of the eighth century. In the ninth century the process was practically complete except when the *a* was followed by certain consonant combinations, see § 60. Umlaut must have taken place earlier in the spoken language than it is expressed in late OHG. and early MHG. manuscripts, because the *i* which caused the umlaut was weakened to *e* in MHG. and *j* had disappeared except between vowels. The vowels and diphthongs which underwent umlaut in MHG. are *a*, *o*, *u*, *ā*, *ō*, *ū*, *ou*, *uo*. The umlaut of all these sounds was completed by about the year 1200.

a > e: Examples for OHG. have already been given in § 60. MHG. examples are: *gast*, *guest*, pl. *geste* (OHG. *gesti*); *lamp*, *lamb*, pl. *lember* (OHG. *lembir*); inf. *graben*, *to dig*, pres. 2nd and 3rd pers. sing. *grebest*, *grebet*, (OHG. *grebis*, *grebit*); *lanc*, *long*, beside *lenge* (OHG. *lengi*), *length*; *brennen*, Goth. *brannjan*, *to burn*; *bette* (OHG. *beti*), *bed*.

a > ä: From the twelfth century onwards the umlaut of *a* also occurs—often beside forms without umlaut—in words containing the consonant combinations which prevented umlaut from taking place in OHG., see § 60, as

pl. **mähte** (OHG. *mahti*), *powers*; **geslähte** (OHG. *gi-slahti*), *race, generation*; **wähset** (OHG. *wahsit*), *it grows*; **wärmen** (OHG. *warmen*, older **warmjan*), *to warm*; Upper German **älter** (OHG. *altiro*), *older*; **kälte** (OHG. *kaltī*), *coldness*; **hältet** (OHG. *haltit*), *he holds*; **äher** (OHG. *ahir*), *ear of corn*; **slähet** (OHG. *slahit*), *he strikes*, &c. It also occurs in derivatives ending in **-lich**, **-līn**, as **mänlich**, *manly*; **schämelich**, *shameful*; **tägelich**, *daily*; **väterlich**, *fatherly*; **väterlīn**, dim. of **vater**, *father*. It is likewise met with in MHG. words which originally had an **i** in the third syllable, the vowel of the second syllable having become **i** by assimilation, as **frävele** (OHG. *frafali*), *bold*; pl. **mägede** (OHG. *magadi*), *maids*; pl. **zähere** (OHG. *zahari*), *tears*.

This **ä** was a very open sound, nearly like the **a** in English **man**. It is generally written **ä** in MHG. grammars to distinguish it from old umlaut **e** which was a close sound. Good MHG. poets do not rhyme Germanic **ë** with the umlaut **e**, and the distinction between the two sounds is still preserved in many NHG. dialects. In like manner the modern Bavarian and Austrian dialects still distinguish between **ä** and **ë**. In the MHG. period **ä**, **ë**, and **e** were kept apart in Bavarian, but in Alemanic and Middle German **ä** and **ë** seem to have fallen together in **ë** or possibly in **ä**, as the two sounds frequently rhyme with each other in good poets.

o > ö: Although **ö**, the umlaut of **o**, is common in MHG. and still commoner in NHG., yet all words containing this umlaut are really new formations due to levelling or analogy, because prim. Germanic **u** (§ 57) did not become **o** in OHG. when followed by an **i** or **j** in the next syllable.

Examples are: **boc**, *he-goat*, beside dim. **böcklīn** (OHG. *pocchilī*); **dorf**, *village*, beside pl. **dörfer**; **got**, *God*, beside **götinne**, *goddess*; **hof**, *court*, beside **hövesch**, *courtly*; **loch** (OHG. *loh*), beside pl. **löcher** (OHG. *lohhir*), *holes*;

tochter, *daughter*, beside **dim. töchterlīn** ; pret. subj. **möhte** (OHG. **mohti**), *I might* ; **törste** (OHG. **torsti**), *I dared*.

u > ü : **dünne** (OHG. **dunni**), *thin* ; **künne** (OHG. **kunni**), *race, generation* ; pl. **süne** (OHG. **sunī**), *sons* ; **tür** (OHG. **turi**), *door* ; pret. subj. **züge** (OHG. **zugī**), inf. **ziehen**, *to draw*.

NOTE.—In Upper German certain consonant combinations often prevented umlaut from taking place where it might be expected. Of these the principal are :—1. Before a liquid + consonant, as **hulde** (OHG. **huldī**), *favour* ; **schuldec** (OHG. **sculdīg**), *guilty* ; **gedultec** (OHG. **gidultīg**), *indulgent* ; **burge** (OHG. **burgī**), dat. of **burc**, *city* ; **sturbe** (OHG. **sturbi**), pret. subj. of **stēr en**, *to die* ; **wurfe** (OHG. **wurfi**), pret. subj. of **wērfe n**, *to throw*.

2. **u** fluctuates with **ü** when followed by a nasal + consonant, as **dunken**, *to seem*, **wunne**, *joy*, beside **dünken**, **wünne**. This fluctuation is especially common in the pret. subj., as **bunde**, **sunge**, beside **bünde**, **sünge**, inf. **binden**, *to bind*, **singen**, *to sing*.

3. In Upper German before **gg**, **ck**, **pf**, **tz** which arose from the West Germanic gemination of consonants (§§ 213–4), as **brugge**, *bridge*, **mugge**, *midge*, **drucken**, *to press*, **stucke**, *piece*, **hupfen**, *to hop*, **schupfen**, *to push* ; **nutze**, *useful*, **nutzen**, *to use*, beside Middle German **brücke**, **mücke**, **drücken**, **stücke**, **hüpfen**, **schüpfen**, **nütze**, **nützen**.

ā > æ : **lære** (OHG. **lāri**), *empty* ; **mære** (OHG. **māri**), *renowned* ; **sæjen** (OHG. **sājan**), *to sow* ; pret. subj. **næme** (OHG. **nāmi**), pl. **nāmen** (OHG. **nāmīm**), inf. **nēmen**, *to take*.

The long vowel **æ** corresponded in quality to **ā** in Upper German, but in Middle German it was closer and corresponded in quality to **ē**.

ō > æ : **hæher** (OHG. **hōhir**), *higher* ; **hæhest** (OHG. **hōhist**), *highest* ; **hæren** (OHG. **hōren**, from older ***hōr-jan**), *to hear* ; **schæne** (OHG. **scōni**), *beautiful*.

ū > iu : **briute** (OHG. **brūti**), *brides* ; **hiuser** (OHG. **hūsir**), *houses*.

Traces of the umlaut of *ū*, written *iu* (= *ū*), occur in late OHG. monuments of the tenth century. It is common in the writings of Notker († 1022), as *hiute* older *hūti*, *skins, hides*; *chriuter* older *chrūtir*, *herbs*. In other writings of the tenth to the twelfth century the umlaut of *ū* is seldom found. Umlaut did not take place in Upper German before a following *m*, as *rūmen* from **rūmjan*, *to make room*; *sūmen* from **sūmjan*, *to tarry*; *schūmen* from **skūmjan*, *to foam*.

ou > *öu*, often written *eu*, rarely *oi*, *öi*: *löufel* (OHG. *loufil*), *runner*; *löuber* (OHG. *loubir*), *leaves*.

Umlaut of *ou* did not take place before a following *w*, as *frouwe* (OHG. *frouwa*, prim. Germ. **frawjō-*), *woman*; *ouwe* (OHG. *ouwa*, *auwia* from prim. Germ. **a(z)wjō-*), *meadow*.

Forms like *döuwen*, *to digest*, *dröuwen*, *to threaten*, *fröuwen*, *to rejoice*, *höuwe*, *hay*, *ströuwen*, *to strew*, beside *douwen*, *drouwen*, *frouwen*, *houwe*, *strouwen*, were all analogical formations, see § 232.

Umlaut did not take place in Upper German before a following labial, as *erlouben*, *to allow*, *gelouben*, *to believe*, *houbet*, *head*, *koufen*, *to buy*, *troumen*, *to dream*, *toufen*, *to baptize*, beside Middle German *erlöuben*, *gelöuben*, *höubet*, *köufen*, *tröumen*, *töufen*.

uo > *üe*: *grüene* (OHG. *gruoni*), *green*; *güete* (OHG. *guoti*), *goodness*; *vüeze* (OHG. *fuozi*), *feet*; pret. pl. subj. *vüeren* (OHG. *fuorīm*), inf. *varn*, *to fare, go*; *buoch*, *book*, dim. *büechlīn*; *muoter*, *mother*, dim. *müeterlīn*.

Traces of the umlaut of *uo* occur in late OHG. monuments, as *grüene*, *green*, *süeze*, *sweet*.

In Middle German *üe* became contracted to *ū* in the twelfth century.

NOTE.—In Middle German *ö*, *ü*, *öu*, *üe* were not distinguished in writing from *o*, *u*, *ou*, *uo*. In early MHG. the umlaut of *a*, *o*, *u* was represented in Upper German by *â*, *ô*, *û* and from the

fourteenth century onwards by ä, ö, ü. ^êä, ä do not occur in Middle German manuscripts.

B. THE SHORT VOWELS.

§ 80. Apart from the changes caused by umlaut, viz. **a** to **ä**, **o** to **ö**, and **u** to **ü** (§ 79), and the few changes treated in the notes at the end of this paragraph, the OHG. short vowels remained in MHG., as OHG. **ackar**, **faran**, **fater**, **gast**, **tag**, **bant**, **nam**, **gab**=MHG. **acker**, **varn**, **vater**, **gast**, **tac**, **bant**, **nam**, **gap**.

OHG. **kelbir**, **gesti**, **brennen**, **lengī**, **feris(t)**, **ferit**=MHG. **kelber**, **geste**, **brennen**, **lenge**, **verst**, **vert**.

OHG. **wäg**, **helfan**, **ëzzan**, **gilëgan**, **stëlan**=MHG. **wēc**, **helfen**, **ëzzen**, **gelëgen**, **stëln**.

OHG. **fisk**, **wituwa**, **wizzan**, **bizzum**, *we bit*, **gibizzan**, *bitten*, **nimu**, *I take*, **liggen**, *to lie down*=MHG. **visch**, **witewe**, **wizzen**, **bizzen**, **gebizzen**, **nime**, **ligen**.

OHG. **got**, **tohter**, **gibotan**, **giholfan**, **giboran**, **wola**, (adv.)=MHG. **got**, **tohter**, **geboten**, **geholfen**, **geborn**, **wol**.

OHG. **sunu**, **wurm**, **butum**, *we offered*, **buntum**, *we bound*, pp. **gibuntan**=MHG. **sun**, **wurm**, **buten**, **bunten**, **gebunten**.

NOTE.—1. In Bavarian **e** and **ë** fell together, except before liquids, in **e** during the MHG. period.

2. **ë** became close **e** and thus fell together with umlaut **e** before **st**, **sch**, and palatal **g**, as is seen from the rhymes in the writings of the MHG. poets who in other combinations keep the two sounds apart, as **gestern**, **nest**, **swester**; **dreschen**, **leschen**; **degen**, *warrior*; and also in a few other words before a following **l**, as **helm**, **schelm**, **vels**, *rock*, **welcher**.

3. In Alemanic of the fourteenth century **e** (but not **ë**, **ä**) became rounded to **ö** especially in the neighbourhood of labials, as **frömde**, *strange*; **mönsche**, *man*; **öpfel**, *apples*. Several such forms have passed into the NHG. literary language, as **ergötzen**, **hölle**, **löffel**, **löschen**, **schöpfen**, **schöpfer**, **zwölf**, &c. See § 92.

4. Before nasals **u** became **o** and **ü** became **ö** in Middle

German already in the twelfth century, as Middle German *from*, *sonne*, *gönnen*, *könic*, beside Upper German *frum*, *sunne*, *günnen*, *künic*. See §§ 97, 101.

5. In Middle German short vowels in open syllables began to be lengthened at the end of the twelfth century, but in Upper German traces of this lengthening are not met with until the end of the thirteenth century. See § 105.

C. THE LONG VOWELS.

§ 81. Apart from the changes caused by umlaut, viz. *ā* to *æ*, *ō* to *œ*, and *ū* to *iu* (§ 79), and the few changes treated in the notes at the end of this paragraph, the OHG. long vowels remained in MHG., as OHG. *fāhan*, *to catch*, *slāfan*, *to sleep*, *dāhta*, *I thought*, *bārum*, *we bore*, *sāt*, *seed* = MHG. *fāhen* (*fān*), *slāfen*, *dāhte*, *bāren*, *sāt*.

OHG. *ēra*, *honour*, *lēren*, *to teach*, *mēro*, *greater*, *sēla*, *soul*, *sēo*, *sea* = MHG. *ēre*, *lēren*, *mēre*, *sēle*, *sē*.

OHG. *bīzan*, *to bite*, *scriban*, *to write*, *snīdan*, *to cut*, *sīn*, *his*, *swīn*, *pig*, *wīb*, *woman* = MHG. *bīzen*, *scriben*, *snīden*, *sīn*, *swīn*, *wīp*.

OHG. *bōt*, *I offered*, *kōs*, *I chose*, *hōh*, *high*, *ōra*, *ear*, *rōt*, *red*, *tōd*, *death* = MHG. *bōt*, *kōs*, *hōch*, *ōre*, *rōt*, *tōt*.

OHG. *dūhta*, *it seemed*, *sūgan*, *to suck*, *sūfan*, *to drink*, *hūs*, *house*, *rūm*, *room*, *dūsunt*, *thousand* = MHG. *dūhte*, *sūgen*, *sūfen*, *hūs*, *rūm*, *tūsent*.

NOTE.—I. In Bavarian, Middle German, and a part of Alemanic *ā* became *ō* before a following nasal and after a preceding *w* in the second half of the thirteenth century. See § 118.

2. Long vowels before consonant combinations began to be shortened in Middle German about the end of the twelfth century. See § 139.

3. The diphthongization of *ī*, *ū*, *iu* (= *ū*) to *ei*, *ou*, *eu* took place in Bavarian at the end of the twelfth century, and in Swabian in the fifteenth century. In Alemanic (except Swabian) the monophthongs remained until the early NHG. period. In East Middle German the diphthongization took place in the

early part of the fourteenth century, but in West Middle German not until the beginning of the sixteenth century. See § 124.

D. THE DIPHTHONGS.

ei

§ 82. OHG. **ei** generally remained in MHG., as OHG. and MHG. **bein**, *bone*; **leiten**, *to lead*; **teil**, *portion*; OHG. **screib**, *I wrote*, **sneid**, *I cut*, **heizan**, *to call* = MHG. **schreip**, **sneit**, **heizen**.

ei became **ai** in Bavarian and Swabian in the early part of the thirteenth century. See § 130.

ie

§ 83. OHG. **ie** (= Germanic **ē**, § 71) remained, as OHG. and MHG. **brief**, *letter*; **fieng**, *I caught*; **gieng**, *I went*; **hielt**, *I held*; **hier**, *here*; **riet**, *I advised*; OHG. **mieta**, *pay, reward*, MHG. **miete**.

ie became monophthongized to **ī** at an early period in Middle German, and then underwent shortening to **i** before two consonants, as **ging** from older **gīng**, **gieng**; **fing** from older **fīng**, **fieng**.

io

§ 84. OHG. **io** (= Germ. **eu** § 77), and OHG. **io** which occurs in the preterite of the old reduplicated verbs whose presents have **ou**, **ō**, **uo** (§§ 517-9), became **ie** already at the end of the tenth century, as OHG. **liob**, *dear*, **lioht**, *a light*, **tiof**, *deep*, **biogan**, *to bend*, **biotan**, *to offer*, **kiosan**, *to choose*, **liof**, *I ran*, **stioz**, *I pushed*, **riof**, *I called* = MHG. **liep**, **lieht**, **tief**, **biegen**, **bieten**, **kiesen**, **lief**, **stiez**, **rief**.

iu

§ 85. OHG. **iu** (§ 77) became contracted to long **ū** about the year 1000, but the **iu** was retained in writing and also became used for the umlaut of **ū** (§ 79). **ū**, written **iu**, remained in MHG. and fell together with **iu** (= **ū**), the

i-umlaut of *ū* (§ 79), as OHG. *liuhten*, *to light*, *biutit*, *he offers*, *kiusit*, *he chooses*, *liuti*, *people*, *tiuri*, *dear* = MHG. *liuhten*, *biutet*, *kiuset*, *liute*, *tiure*.

ou

§ 86. Apart from the umlaut of *ou* to *öu* (*eu*) (§ 79), OHG. *ou* remained in MHG., as OHG. *boug*, *I bent*, *houbit*, *head*, *kloub*, *I cleft*, *loufan*, *to run*, *ouga*, *eye*, *ouh*, *also*, *troum*, *dream* = MHG. *bouc*, *houbet*, *kloup*, *loufen*, *ouge*, *ouch*, *troum*.

ou became *au* in Bavarian at the end of the twelfth century. See § 131.

uo

§ 87. Apart from the umlaut of *ou* to *üe* (§ 79), OHG. *uo* remained in MHG., as OHG. *bruoder*, *brother*, *fuor*, *I went*, *fluot*, *flood*, *fuoz*, *foot*, *muoter*, *mother*, *sluog*, *I struck*, *stuont*, *I stood*, *truog*, *I carried* = MHG. *bruoder*, *vuor*, *fluot*, *fuoz*, *muoter*, *sluoc*, *stuont*, *truoc*.

In Middle German *uo* became contracted to *ū* in the thirteenth century. See § 136.

§ 88. By summing up the results of §§ 79-87 it will be seen that the OHG. vowel-system assumed the following shape in the MHG. period:—

Short vowels	<i>a</i> , <i>e</i> , <i>ä</i> , <i>ë</i> , <i>i</i> , <i>o</i> , <i>u</i> , <i>ö</i> , <i>ü</i>
Long	,, <i>ā</i> , <i>ē</i> , <i>æ</i> , <i>ī</i> , <i>ō</i> , <i>ū</i> , <i>œ</i> , <i>iu</i>
Diphthongs	<i>ei</i> , <i>ie</i> , <i>ou</i> , <i>uo</i> , <i>öu</i> (<i>eu</i>), <i>üe</i>

NOTE.—Of the above system *a*, *e*, *ë*, *i*, *o*, *u* = the corresponding OHG. vowels.

ä is the umlaut of *a* before certain consonant combinations which prevented umlaut from taking place in OHG., as *mähte*, OHG. *mahti*, *powers* (§§ 60, 79).

ö is the umlaut of OHG. *o*, as *löcher*, OHG. *lohhir*, *holes* (§ 79).

ü is the umlaut of OHG. *u*, as *dünne*, OHG. *dunni*, *thin* (§ 79).

ā, *ē*, *ī*, *ō*, *ū* = the corresponding OHG. vowels.

æ is the umlaut of OHG. *ā*, as *lære*, OHG. *lāri*, *empty* (§ 79).

æ is the umlaut of OHG. **ō**, as **hæher**, OHG. **hōhir**, *higher* (§ 79).

iu = (1) OHG. **iu**, as **liute**, OHG. **liuti**, *people* (§ 77).

(2) the umlaut of OHG. **ū**, as **hiuser**, OHG. **hūsir**, *houses* (§ 79).

ei, **ou**, **uo** = the corresponding OHG. diphthongs.

ie = (1) OHG. **ie** (Germanic **ē**), as OHG. and MHG. **hier**, *here*; **hielt**, *I held* (§ 71).

(2) OHG. **io** (Germanic **eu**), as **bieten**, OHG. **biotān**, *to offer* (§ 77).

öu (**eu**) is the umlaut of OHG. **ou**, as **löuber**, OHG. **loubir**, *leaves* (§ 79).

üe is the umlaut of OHG. **uo**, as **grüene**, OHG. **gruoni**, *green* (§ 79).

CHAPTER VI

THE NHG. DEVELOPMENT OF THE MHG. VOWEL-SYSTEM IN ACCENTED SYLLABLES

A. THE SHORT VOWELS.

§ 89. The MHG. short vowels in closed syllables have generally remained in NHG., whereas the MHG. short vowels in open syllables have mostly been lengthened (§ 105 ff.). When in MHG. a short vowel was now in a closed syllable and now in an open syllable through inflexional endings, NHG. has mostly generalized the form of the open syllable, as **weg**: **wege** = MHG. **wēc**: **wēge**; **tag**: **tage** = MHG. **tac**: **tage**; and similarly in the pret. of strong verbs the long vowel of the plural has been extended to the singular, as **gab**: **gaben** = MHG. **gap**: **gāpen**; **nahm**: **nahmen** = MHG. **nam**: **nāmen**. The old difference between long and short vowels in open and closed syllables has for the most part been preserved in Low German. Monosyllabic forms like *bad*, *grab*, *glas*, *gras*, *rad*, *stab*, *tag*, *weg*, *steg*, *grob*, *hof*, &c., are pronounced

long in South German, but short in North German, but in the inflected forms they are also long in North German. This explains why in the singular they are written with single final consonants.

§ 90. The umlaut of **a** is now mostly written **ä** in NHG. in words which have beside them obviously related forms without umlaut, as **gast**: **gäste** = MHG. **gast**: **geste**; **alt**: **älter** = MHG. **alt**: **elter**; **lamm**: **lämmer** = MHG. **lamp**: **lember**; **tragen**: **trägt** = MHG. **tragen**: **treget**. **ä** is seldom used for the umlaut of **a** when no related non-umlauted forms exist beside them, but it occurs in a few words, as *ähre* (MHG. *äher*, OHG. *ahir*), *ähnlich*, *mähne*, *mähre*, *träne* pl. in form (MHG. *trähene*, OHG. *trahani*), *zähre* pl. in form (MHG. *zähere*, OHG. *zahari*). In a few words **e** is used where related non-umlauted forms exist, as *adel*: *edel*, *bass*: *besser*, *fahrt*: *fertig*, *fast*: *fest*, *hahn*: *henne*, *hand*: *behende*, *mann*: *mensch*. In several words **ä** is used for MHG. **ë**, as *bär* (MHG. *bër*), *gebären* (MHG. *gebërn*), see § 108. In a few instances it is used to distinguish pairs of words, as *ältern*: *eltern*, *färse*: *ferse*, *lärche*: *lerche*, *stärke*: *sterke*.

The writing of **ä** for **ä** was first used in Swabian. It often occurs in early works printed at Augsburg, but still more frequently in those printed at Basle, Zürich, and Bern; in the former place it was generally used for the MHG. umlaut of **a** and **ā** (§ 79) and in the latter places it was used for MHG. **ë** as well (§ 80). **e** was used for all three sounds in early works printed at Nürnberg, Strassburg, and in Middle Germany. But **ä** came gradually to be used in these parts also. East Middle German was the last to introduce **ä**. It does not occur in the last edition of Luther's Bible.

The historical distinction between MHG. **ä**, **e**, and **ë** no longer exists in the North German pronunciation of the standard language. All three sounds are pronounced as

open *e* when they have remained short. When MHG. *ä*, *e*, and *ë* have been lengthened they have become close *ē* in the language of the stage, but when written *ä* as in *ähnlich*, *wählen* (MHG. *weln*), *gebären*, many people pronounce it as long open *ā*. This distinction is arbitrary and entirely due to the influence of the orthography.

Rounded *ö*, *ü*, and *äu* (*eu*) were not distinguished in pronunciation from unrounded *e*, *i*, *ei* until far into the eighteenth century; hence *ö* and *e*, *ü* and *i*, *äu* (*eu*) and *ei* often rhyme with each other in the poetry of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The modern distinction in the pronunciation is due to Low German usage, which has gradually taken root in Modern German.

I. THE SHORT VOWELS IN CLOSED SYLLABLES.

§ 91. MHG. *a* has remained, as *ab*, *acht*, *acker*, *an*, *arg*, *arm*, *bald*, *band*, *bekannt*, *das*, *fast*, *fand*, *gast*, *half*, *hand*, *hart*, *kält*, *karte*, *scharf*, *schlacht*, *stark*, *tracht*, *warm*, *warten*, *was*.

§ 92. MHG. *e*, the umlaut of *a*, which was a close sound, has generally become open *e*, written *e*, *ä* in NHG., as *behende*, *besser*, *brennen*, *denken*, *ende*, *eng*, *engel*, *ente*, *erbe*, *fertig*, *fest*, *fremd*, *geselle*, *gespenst*, *hemd*, *henne*, *menge*, *mensch*, *nennen*, *schenken*, *senden*, *senken*, *setzen*, *streng*, *vetter*; *äpfel*, *gäste*, *gedränge*, *hängen*, *kräfte*, *lämmer*, *länger*, *März*, *städte*.

As we have already seen, § 80, note 3, *e* (but not *ë*, *ä*) became rounded to *ö* especially in the neighbourhood of labials in Alemanic of the fourteenth century. At a later period it occurs in the neighbourhood of *l*, *sch*, and in one or two other words. The change of *e* to *ö* does not seem to have spread to East Middle German, because *ö* for *e* is very rarely if ever found in Luther's writings. This *ö* for *e* occurs in NHG. in: *ergötzen* (MHG. *ergetzen*),

erlöschen (MHG. *erleschen*), *geschöpf*, *gewölbe* (MHG. *gewelbe*), *hölle* (MHG. *helle*), *löcken* (MHG. *lecken*, to kick), *löffel* (OHG. *leffil*), *löschen* (MHG. *leschen*), *schöpfe* (MHG. *scheffe*), *schöpfen* (MHG. *schepfen*), *schöpfer* (MHG. *schepfære*), *schröpfen* (MHG. *schrepfen*), *wölben* (MHG. *welben*), *zwölf* (MHG. *zwelf*). It has been lengthened to *ō* in *flötz* (MHG. *vletze*, *seam*, *stratum*), *gewöhnen* (MHG. *gewenen*), *löwe* (MHG. *lewe* and *lēwe*), *schwören* (MHG. *swern*).

§ 93. MHG. *ä* (§ 79), which was a very open sound, nearly like the low front wide vowel in Engl. *man*, has become the mid front wide vowel in Engl. *men*, and has thus fallen together with NHG. *ä*, *e* from MHG. *e*, *ë*. Examples are: *älter*, *färben*, *hält* (MHG. *hältet*, and *heltet*), *kälber*, *kälte*, *mächte*, *mächtig*, *männlich*, *nächte*, *wärmen*, *wächst* (MHG. *wähset*); *eltern*, *geschlecht*, *welsch*.

§ 94. MHG. *ë* has remained, as *bergen*, *brechen*, *essen*, *fechten*, *feld*, *ferse*, *gelb*, *gelten*, *helfen*, *herz*, *melken*, *scherz*, *schmelzen*, *sprechen*, *sterben*, *treffen*, *weg* (adv.); *rächen* (MHG. *rëchen*), and in *dämmerung* (MHG. *dëmerunge* with open syllable).

§ 95. MHG. *i* has remained, as *bild*, *binden*, *bitten*, *finden*, *fisch*, *gewicht*, *gift*, *hin*, *hinter*, *hirsch*, *hirt(e)*, *in*, *mild*, *mit*, *schwimmen*, *singen*, *sitzen*, *trinken*, *wild*, *wind*, *wirt*, *wissen*.

A few words have *ü* for older *i*, as *fünf* (OHG. *finf*, *fimf*); *flüstern* (older NHG. *flistern*), borrowed from Low German in the eighteenth century; *münze* (OHG. *minza*, Lat. *mentha*), *minze* is the form now prescribed in the latest books on German orthography; in *hülfe* beside *hilfe*, both forms are old and stand in ablaut relation to each other; *würde* (MHG. *wirde*), *würdig* (MHG. *wirdic*) with *i* in Luther and also common in writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; in *sündflut* (MHG. *sin(t)fluot*) *sünd* is due to association with *sünde*.

§ 96. MHG. *o* has remained, as *bock, doch, dorf, dorn, gefochten, geholfen, gesprochen, gestorben, getroffen, geworden, gold, hold, holz, horn, joch, loch, noch, ob, tochter, voll* (MHG. *vol, voller*), *von, woche, wolf, wolke, wolle*.

§ 97. MHG. *u* has generally remained, as *brust, burg, dumm* (MHG. *tump, tumber*), *gebunden, geduld, gefunden, gesungen, frucht, hund, jung, krumm* (MHG. *krump, krumber*), *kummer* (MHG. *kumber*), *sprung, stumm, trunk, und, unter, wunde, wunsch, zunge*.

In Middle German *u* became *o* before nasals already in the twelfth century. In NHG. *u* has regularly become *o* before *nn*, frequently before *mm*, and occasionally before *n* + consonant, as *begonnen* (MHG. *begunnen*), *brunnen* (MHG. *brunne*) beside the poetical form *bronnen, geronnen* (MHG. *gerunnen*), *gesonnen* (MHG. *gesunnen*), *gesponnen* (MHG. *gespunnen*), *gewonnen* (MHG. *gewunnen*), *nonne* (MHG. *nunne*), *sonne* (MHG. *sunne*), *tonne* (MHG. *tunne*), *wonne* (MHG. *wunne*); *sonder* (MHG. *sunder*), *sonst* (MHG. *sunst, sust, sus*); *sohn* (MHG. *sun*) with long vowel from the gen. and dat.; *geklommen* (MHG. *geklummen*), *geschwommen* (MHG. *geswummen*), *trommel* (MHG. *trummel*), *sommer* (MHG. *sumer*, see § 114), *fromm* (MHG. *vrum, vrumer*) with generalization of the uninflected form.

§ 98. MHG. *ö* has remained, as pl. *dörfer, löcher, töchter; göttin* (MHG. *göttine*), pret. subj. *möchte*.

§ 99. MHG. *ü* has generally remained, as *brücke, büste, dünken, dünn* (MHG. *dünne*), *dürftig, dürr, flüssig, fülle, füllen, fürchten, fürst, gültig, gürtlen, gelübde* originally in an open syllable (MHG. *gelübede*, OHG. *gilubida*), *hülle, kürze, lücke, mücke, mürbe* (MHG. *mürwe, mür*), *rücken, schlüssel, zürnen*; pret. subj. *hülfe, stürbe, würbe, würde, würfe*.

§ 100. One of the marked differences between Middle German and Upper German in the MHG. period is that *u*

umlaut was carried out far more extensively in the former than in the latter. This is still a characteristic difference between the modern Middle German and Upper German dialects. In § 79, u, note, it has been shown that in Upper German of the MHG. period certain consonant combinations prevented umlaut from taking place where it might be expected, especially before *ld*, *lt*; *gg*, *ck*, *pf*, *tz*, and occasionally before nasal+consonant. Several of these non-umlauted forms have passed into the NHG. literary language from the Upper German dialects, as *dulden*, *geduldig* (OHG. *dultig*), *gulden* beside adj. *gülden* (OHG. *guldin*), *huld* (OHG. *huldī*), *kurfürst* but *willkür* (OHG. *kuri*, choice), *schuldig* (OHG. *sculdīg*); *kunde* (MHG. *künde*), *kundig* (MHG. *kündic*), *um* (MHG. *umbe*, *ümbe*, OHG. *umbi*), *nutze* beside *nütze* (MHG. *nütze*), *nutzen* beside *nützen*; *ducken*, *spucken*, *schlucken*, *drucken*, to print, beside *drücken*, to press, *zucken*, to jerk, beside *zücken*, to draw (a sword); *rupfen*, *schupfen*, *zupfen*; *stutzen*.

§ 101. Parallel with the change of *u* to *o* (§ 97) was that of *ü* to *ö* in Middle German of the twelfth century. Several such forms have survived in the NHG. literary language, as *gönnen* (MHG. *günnen*), *können* (MHG. *kün-nen*), *mönch* (MHG. *münech*), the pret. subj. of strong verbs, *begönne* (MHG. *begünne*), and similarly in *gewönne*, *rönne*, *sönne*, *spönne*, *schwömmen*; with the vowel lengthened in open syllables (§ 112), in *könig* (MHG. *künec*), *mögen* (MHG. *mügen*), *söhne* (MHG. *süne*), *stör* (MHG. *stüre*, *störe*); with lengthened vowel in *börse* (MHG. *burse*, OHG. *burissa*); with short vowel in *röcheln* (MHG. *rücheln*).

§ 102. In Bavarian, Swabian, and Middle German, there was a tendency to unround *ü* to *i* already in the fourteenth century. *ü* has been regularly unrounded to *i* in many of the modern dialects from which several words containing *i* for older *ü* have passed into the literary language, as *findling* (MHG. *fündling*), *gimpel* (MHG. *gümpel*), *kissen*

(MHG. *küssen*), *kitt* (MHG. *küte*, *küt*), *pilz* (MHG. *bülez*), *schlingel* beside older NHG. *schlüngel*, *simmer* (MHG. *sümmen*), *spritzen* (MHG. *sprützen*).

§ 103. Short vowels in closed syllables have regularly been lengthened before simple final *r* in monosyllables, as *ar*, *dar*, *gar*, *der*, *er*, *her*, *wer*, *dir*, *ihr*, *mir*, *wir*, *vor*, but *dāran*, *hērein*, *vōran*, &c., when the first element is unstressed; *empor*, *gewahr*.

§ 104. *a* and *e* (rarely other vowels) have often been lengthened in closed syllables before *r*+dental, but this lengthening is not recognized as the standard by all educated speakers. The examples are: *art*, *arzt* but *ärztlich*, *arsch*, *barsch*, *bart*, *fahrt*, *harz*, *quarz*, *scharte*, *schwarte*, *zart*; *gefährte*; *erde*, *herd*, *herde*, *pferd*, *schwert*, *werden*, *wert*; *begierde*, *börse*, *geburt*.

2. THE SHORT VOWELS IN OPEN SYLLABLES.

§ 105. Short vowels have generally been lengthened in open syllables when followed by a media, liquid, nasal, or *f*, *s* (=Germanic *f*, *s*). The lengthening took place earliest in Middle German where traces of it are found in monuments of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Traces of the lengthening are not met with in Upper German until about the end of the thirteenth century.

NOTE.—Lengthening has not taken place before the spirants *ff*, *ss*, *ch* (= Germanic *p*, *t*, *k*, § 217), nor before *ck*, as *offen*, *treffen*, *essen*, *vergessen*, *machen*, *sprechen*, *brücke*, *decken*.

§ 106. *a*: *aber*, *adel*, *baden*, *base*, *fahl*, *fahren*, *graben*, *haben*, *hader*, *hafer*, *hase*, *jagen*, *klagen*, *laben*, *laden*, *mahlen* (to grind), *name*, *nase*, *sagen*, *tragen*, *wagen* (carriage); *bad*, *bahn*, *glas*, *grab*, *gram*, *gras*, *hahn*, *kahl*, *lahm*, *rad*, *saal*, *scham*, *schar*, *schmal*, *schwan*, *stab*, *tag*, *zahl*, *zahn*, *zahn*. See § 89.

§ 107. *e(ä)*: *dehnen, edel, gehege, heben, heer, legen, meer, reden, wehren*; *ähnlich, ähre, erwähnen, erzählen, grämen, käfig, lähmen, mähre, nähren, schämen, träne, wählen* (MHG. *weln*), *zähmen, zähre*, and in the second and third pers. sing. of the present of strong verbs, *fährst* (MHG. *ver(e)st*), *fährt* (MHG. *ver(e)t*), *gräbst, gräbt, schlägst, schlägt*. On forms like *gewöhnen, löwe, schwören*, see § 92.

§ 108. *ë*: *befehlen, bewegen, dem* (MHG. *dēm(e)*), *eben, eber, empfehlen, geben, gelegen, genesen, geschehen, gewesen, hehlen, kehle, kleben, leben, leber, leder, lesen, nehmen, pflegen, regen, scheren, segen, sehen, sehne, stehlen, streben, weben, wem* (MHG. *wēm(e)*), *zehn*; *mehl, steg, weg*, see § 89. But the vowel has remained short in *neffe* (MHG. *nëve*). *ziemen* (MHG. *zëmen*) has been formed from *ziemt* (MHG. *zimet*).

Although the writing of *e* for old *ë* has generally remained in NHG., several words now have *ä* due to the influence of Alemanic orthography, viz. *bär, gebären, gähnen, gähren, gewähren, häher* (jay), *jäten, käfer, quälen, räder* (sieve), *säge, schwäher, schwäre, spähen, stärke* (young cow), *strähne, verbrämen, wägen* (to weigh), *währen*.

On the pronunciation of the *ä, e, ë* in §§ 107-8, see § 90.

§ 109. *i*: *biber, biene, dieser, friede, ihm* (MHG. *im(e)*), *liegen, riese, sieben, wiebel, wiese, wiesel*; in the second and third pers. sing. of the present of many strong verbs, as *liest* (MHG. *lisest*), *liet* (MHG. *liset*), similarly in *siehst, sieht*; *gebierst, gebiert*, &c.; with late shortening in *gibst* (MHG. *gibest*), *gibt* (MHG. *gibet*), probably also in *nimmst* (MHG. *nimest*), *nimmt* (MHG. *nimet*); in the pret. plural and pp. of many strong verbs, as *blieben* (MHG. *bliben*), *geblieben* (MHG. *gebliben*), similarly in *liehen, geliehen*; *mieden, gemieden*; *riegen, geriegen*; *schrieben, geschrieben*; *stiegen, gestiegen*; *trieben, getrieben*; *glied, sieb, sieg, spiel, vich, viel, ziel*, see § 89. Short in *zinn*

(MHG. *zin*), but *zien* was common in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

On the writing of *ie* for *ī*, see § 136.

§ 110. *o*: *boden, bogen, honig, hose, kohle, loben, oben, oder, ofen, vogel, wohnen*; in the pp. of many strong verbs, as *gebogen, geboren, geflogen, gehoben, gelogen, geschoben, getrogen, gezogen*; *grob, hof, hohl, lob, moos, sohn* (§ 97), *tor* (OHG. *tor*), *wohl* (OHG. *wola*).

The old uninflected form has been generalized in *fromm* (§ 97), *toll*.

§ 111. *u*: *jude, jugend, kugel, muhen* (MHG. *muhen, muwen*, to moo), *stube, tugend, truhe* (MHG. *truhe*, trunk); *flug, lug, spur, zug*, see § 89.

§ 112. *ö*: *gewöhnen, löwe, schwören*, see § 92; *börse, könig, mögen, söhne*, see § 101.

§ 113. *ü*: *bühne, für* (MHG. *vür*, OHG. *furi*), pl. *flüge, flügel, gebühr, gebühren, lüge, mühle, pfühl* (MHG. *pfülwe*), *prügel* (late MHG. *brügel*), *rüde* (MHG. *rüde*, large hound), *tür* (*türe*); shortened in *hübsch* (MHG. *hübesch, hübsch*).

§ 114. Short vowels in open syllables, when followed by a suffixal *-el, -en, -er* in the next syllable, have sometimes been lengthened, and have sometimes remained short. The vowel was regularly lengthened when *l, n, r* were vocalic and remained short when they were consonantal. In the uninflected forms *l, n, r* (the *e* was merely graphical) were vocalic, but in the inflected forms they were consonantal. The lengthening regularly took place in the former case, but not in the latter, and then one or other of the forms was generalized.

Words containing MHG. *m* or *t* have for the most part preserved the short vowel.

el: *hammel, himmel, kümme, sammeln, schimmel, semmel, tummeln*, but *schemel*; *bettel, büttel, knüttel, kutteln, sattel, schütteln*.

en: *genommen, kommen, zusammen*, but *namen, nehmen*,

schämen, ziemen; bitten (OHG. *bitten*), *geglitten, gelitten, geritten, geschnitten, geschritten, gestatten, gesotten, schatten, schlitten, schütten*, but *beten, geboten, getreten, kneten, knoten, jäten, spaten, treten, waten*.

er: *ammer, dämmern, hammer, kammer, nummer, schimmer, schlummer, sommer, trümmer; söller; donner; widder; wieder*, again, beside *wider*, against; *butter, dotter, gatter, gevatter, gewitter, gitter, lotter-, otter, schmettern, vetter, wetter, wittern, zither, zittern, zwitter*, but *kater, vater*.

§ 115. Short vowels in open syllables, when followed by **t**, have generally remained short, as *bitte, blatt, bottich, brett, bütte, gatte, glatt, gott, kette, kitt, lattich, matt, matte, platt, platte, quitt, rettig, rotte, satt, schnitt, schnitte, schritt, stadt, stätte, silte, spott, tritt, wittib, zotte*. See § 89.

The only exceptions are: *beet, bote, gebet, gebot, kröte, met, päte, pfote, schote, zote*.

B. THE LONG VOWELS.

§ 116. Of the eight MHG. long vowels, *ā, æ, ē, ī, ō, ū, œ, iu* (= *ü*), five, viz. *ā, æ, ē, ō, œ*, have remained monophthongs in NHG., and three, viz. *ī, ū, iu*, have been diphthongized to *ai* (always written *ei*), *au, oi* (written *eu, äu*). See § 140, note.

ā

§ 117. *ā* has generally remained in NHG., as *aal, aas, abend, ader, ahle, atem, bahre, braten, draht, fragen, gabe, gefahr, gnade, graf, haar, hake, jahr, klar, mass, nadel, plage, qual, raten, saat, schaf, schlafen, span, sprache, strasse, tat, wahn, wahr*. And in the pret. pl. of many strong verbs, as *gaben* (MHG. *gāben*), similarly in *assen, lasen, nahmen, sahen, sassen, sprachen, trafen*, &c.

āw, with **w** mostly taken into the nominative from the inflected forms, has become *au*, as *blau* (MHG. *blā*, gen.

blāwes), *braue* (MHG. *brā* beside *brāwe*), *grau*, *klaue*, *lau*, *pfau*.

§ 118. *ā* partly became *ō* in Bavarian, Middle German, and a part of Alemanic in the second half of the thirteenth century (§ 81, note 1). Several words containing this change have got into the NHG. literary language. This is especially the case when the vowel was followed by a nasal or preceded by *w*. *ā* and *ō* forms often occur side by side in the early writings of Luther. *ō* for older *ā* occurs in: *argwohn* (MHG. *arcwān*), *dohle* (MHG. *dāhele*), *brodem* (MHG. *brādem*), *kot* (MHG. *quāt*, *kāt*), *mohn* (MHG. *māhen*, *mān*), *monat* (MHG. *mānōt*), *mond* (MHG. *māne*), *montag* (MHG. *māntac*), *odem* (MHG. *ādem*), *ohne* (MHG. *āne*), *ohnmacht* (MHG. *āmaht*), from association with *ohne* in NHG., *schlot* (MHG. *slāt*), *ton* (MHG. *tāhe*), *wo* (MHG. *wā*, *wār*), *woge* (MHG. *wāc*), pret. pl. *woben* (MHG. *wāben*), *wogen* (MHG. *wāgen*); and with shortening before two consonants in *brombeere* (OHG. *brāmberi*), *docht* (MHG. *tāht*), see § 139.

§ 119. Long *ā* has been shortened in *acht* (prosecution), *blatter*, *brachte*, *gebracht*, *dachte*, *gedacht*, *jammer*, *klafter*, *krapfen*, *nachbar*, *natter*, *rache*, *sacht*, *schach*, *waffe*, *wappen*, see § 139.

æ

§ 120. MHG. *æ*, the umlaut of *ā*, was an open sound. In the language of the stage it has now become long close *e*, whether written *e* or *ä*. When written *ä* many people pronounce it as long open *æ*. This distinction is arbitrary and is entirely due to the influence of the orthography. It is mostly written *ä* in NHG. irrespective as to whether there are related forms beside them without umlaut. Examples are: *bähen*, *blähen*, *gebärde* (also *geberde*), *gefäss*, *gerät*, *gräfin*, *jäh*, *käse*, *krähen*, *mähen*, *märchen*, *nähen*, *säen*, *schäfer*, *spät*, *stätig* (also *stetig*), *träge*, *wähnen*; the pl.

of nouns, *drähte, räte, spähne*, &c., pret. subj. of many strong verbs, as *ässe, bräche, gäbe, läse, nähme, sähe, spräche, träte*, &c. It has been shortened in *ansässig, schwächer, truchsess*, pret. subj. *brächte, dächte*, see § 139. It is not written *ä* in *angenehm, bequem, drehen, leer, selig, schere* (shears), *schwer, stets, wehen*.

ē

§ 121. MHG. *ē* has generally remained in NHG., as *ehrer, ehre, ewig, ger, hehr, kehren* (to turn), *klee, lehren, mehr, schnee, see, seele, sehr, speer, weh, wenig, zehe*. It has been shortened in *echt, herrlich, herrschaft, herrschen, lerche*, see § 139.

ō

§ 122. MHG. *ō* has generally remained in NHG., as *bloss, bohne, brot, gross, floh, froh, hoch, kohl, lohn, los, moor, not, ohr, ostern, roh, rot, trost, tod, tot*; in the pret. of some strong verbs, as *bot, floh, fror, verlor*. It has been shortened in *amboss, genosse, hochzeit, hoffart* (MHG. *hōchvart*), *lorbeer, flöss* (raft), pret. of strong verbs *floss, genoss, goss, schloss, schoss, verdross*, see § 139.

œ

§ 123. MHG. *œ* has remained in NHG., written *ö*, as *blöde, böse, höhe, höher, höhnen, hören, lösen, öde, röhre, schön*.

THE DIPHTHONGIZATION OF MHG. *ī, ū, iu*.

§ 124. The diphthongization took place earliest in Bavarian, where *ī, ū, iu* had become *ei, ou, eu* (*äu*) by the end of the twelfth century, and then *ou* became *au* in the fourteenth century. In Swabian it took place in the fifteenth century. In Alemanic (except Swabian) the monophthongs remained until the early NHG. period. In East Middle German the diphthongization took place in the early part of the fourteenth century, but in West Middle

German not until the beginning of the sixteenth century. From then onwards the diphthongs became the recognized forms except in Switzerland where the old monophthongs were retained in writing until about 1580 in Basle and between 1650 and 1675 in Zurich.

The old long vowels have remained to the present day in the Alemanic (except Swabian) and many Middle German dialects. So that in these dialects MHG. *ī* and *ei*, *ū* and *ou*, *iu* and *öu* (*eu*) have not fallen together as in the NHG. standard language.

§ 125. MHG. *ī* has become *ai* in NHG., but it is always written *ei*, as *bei*, *beissen*, *blei*, *bleiben*, *dein*, *drei*, *eilen*, *eis*, *eisen*, *eitel*, *feind*, *frei*, *gedeihen*, *gleich*, *greifen*, *heirat*, *leib* (body), *leicht* (adj.), *leiden*, *leihen*, *leim*, *meiden*, *meile*, *mein*, *neid*, *preisen*, *reiben*, *reich*, *reissen*, *reiten*, *scheinen*, *schleifen*, *schmeissen*, *schreiben*, *schreien*, *schreiten*, *schweigen*, *schwein*, *seide*, *sein*, *seite*, *steigen*, *streit*, *treiben*, *weib*, *weichen*, *wein*, *weit*, *zeit*, *zweifel*.

§ 126. MHG. *ū* has become *au* in NHG., as *auf*, *aus*, *aussen*, *bau*, *bauch*, *brauchen*, *braun*, *braut*, *daumen*, *faul*, *faust*, *haufe*, *haus*, *haut*, *kaum*, *kraut*, *laune*, *laut*, *maus*, *raum*, *sau*, *sauber*, *saufen*, *schaum*, *tausend*, *taube*, *traube*, *traut*.

brauen and **kauen** are the Middle German forms corresponding to MHG. **brūwen** and **kūwen**; beside these there existed in MHG. (Upper German) **briuwen** and **kIUwen** which would have become **bräuen** (**breuen**) and **käuen** (**keuen**) in NHG. **breuen** is often found in early NHG. and is still used in the Upper German dialects. **käuen** (**keuen**) was common in eighteenth-century literature, and is still preserved in **wiederkäuen**.

MHG. **ūw** has become **au** in **bauen** (MHG. **būwen**), **trauen** (MHG. **trūwen**).

§ 127. MHG. *iu* has become *oi* (written, *äu*, *eu*) in NHG. See § 140, note.

It has been stated in § 85 that MHG. *iu* partly represents OHG. *iu* and partly the umlaut of OHG. *ū*. The two sounds fell together in *ü* (written *iu*) about the year 1000. Although the two sounds fell together so early, they are still partly distinguishable in NHG. orthography. With one or two doubtful exceptions, the NHG. development of MHG. *iu* (= OHG. *iu*) is always written *eu*; whereas *äu* is used as the umlaut of MHG. *ū* where umlauted and non-umlauted forms exist side by side, as *haus*, *haut*, *kraut*, *maus*, pl. *häuser*, *häute*, *kräuter*, *mäuse*. When no non-umlauted forms exist, the umlaut is generally written *eu*.

Examples of *eu* (= OHG. *iu*) are: *deuten*, *deutsch*, *euch*, *freund*, *heulen*, *heute*, *leuchten*, *leumund*, *leute*, *neu*, *neun*, *reuten*, *teufel*, *treu*, *zeug*, but *bläuen* (OHG. *blüwan*, to strike) and possibly *räuspern* (to clear the throat).

Examples of *eu* (= MHG. umlaut of *ū*) are: *beule*, *beutel*, *eule*, *euter*, *feucht*, *greuel* beside *gräuel*, *heucheln*, *keuchen*, *keusch*, *kreuz*, *meuchelmord*, *reuse*, *schleunig*, *schneuzen*, *seufzen*.

Examples of the umlaut, written *äu* are: *äussern*, *bräutigam*, *fäule* (filth), *häuser*, *häuslich*, *häute*, *gesträuch*, *läuten*, *mäuse*, *räude*, *säule* (with *äu* from the old plural, MHG. *sūl*, pl. *siule*), *sträuben*, *sträucher*, *sich täuschen*. *räumen* (MHG. *rūmen*), *säumen* (MHG. *sūmen*), *säumig* (MHG. *sūmic*) are from the old Middle German forms, see § 79.

spreizen, older NHG. *spreutzen* (MHG. *spriutzen*), *steiss*, older NHG. *steuss* (MHG. *stiuz*), have crept into the literary language from dialects which have unrounded *äu* (*eu*) to *ei*.

§ 128. An *e* has been developed in closed syllables before *r* after NHG. *ei*, *eu*, *au* from MHG. *ī*, *iu*, *ū*, as *feier* (MHG. *vīre*), *geier* (MHG. *gīr*), *leier* (MHG. *līre*); *abenteuer* (MHG. *āventiure*), *feuer* (MHG. *viur*), *geheuer* (MHG. *gehiure*), *heuer* (MHG. *hiure*, OHG. *hiu jāru*),

scheuer (MHG. *schiuere*), *teuer* (MHG. *tiure*); *bauer* (MHG. *gebūr*), *mauer* (MHG. *müre*), *sauer* (MHG. *sūr*), *schauer* (MHG. *schūr*), *trauer* (MHG. *trüre*).

C. THE DIPHTHONGS.

§ 129. Of the six MHG. diphthongs, *ei*, *ie*, *ou*, *uo*, *öu* (*eu*), *üe*, three, viz. *ei*, *ou*, *öu*, have remained diphthongs in NHG. and *ie*, *uo*, *üe* have become monophthongs.

ei

§ 130. MHG. *ei* has become *ai* (written *ei*, rarely *ai*) in NHG. The change from *ei* to *ai* took place in Bavarian and Swabian in the early part of the thirteenth century. Examples are: *ameise*, *arbeit*, *beide*, *bein*, *bleich*, *breit*, *ei*, *eiche*, *eid*, *eigen*, *ein*, *eiter*, *fleisch*, *geil*, *geist*, *gemein*, *heide*, *heil*, *heilen*, *heim*, *heiss*, *heissen*, *kein*, *kleid*, *klein*, *leid*, *leisten*, *leiten*, *meinen*, *nein*, *scheiden*, *schweifen*, *seife*, *seil*, *teil*, *teilen*, *weich*, *weinen*, *weiss* (I know), *zeichen*, *zeigen*.

Written *ai* in *haide* beside *heide*, *hain*, *kaiser*, *laib* (loaf), *laie*, *Mai*, *saite* (string), *waide*, *weise* (orphan).

It has been shortened to *e* in *elf*, *elster*, *nelke*, and to *a* in *zwanzig*, see § 139.

ou

§ 131. MHG. *ou* has become *au* in NHG., as *auch*, *aue*, *auge*, *baum*, *frau*, *gau*, *glaube*, *hauen*, *laufen*, *lauch*, *laub*, *laube*, *raub*, *rauch*, *saum*, *schauen*, *staub*, *taub*, *traum*, *zaum*.

öu (*eu*)

§ 132. MHG. *öu* (*eu*) has become *oi* (written *äu*, *eu*) in NHG., and has thus fallen together with NHG. *äu* (*eu*) from MHG. *iu*. In the MHG. period the umlaut was often written *oi* in Middle German and also occasionally in Upper German. It was written *eu* in Bavarian as early as the twelfth century.

äu is now used as the umlaut of **au** (= MHG. **ou**) where umlauted and non-umlauted forms exist side by side, in other cases **eu** is used. Many of the forms with **äu** given below are late analogical formations based upon older models.

Examples are: *bäume, sich bäumen, betäuben*, older NHG. *dräuen* (to threaten), *ersäufen, fräulein, gläubig, haupter, käufer, läufe, läufer, läufst, läuft, räuber, säugen, säumen, stäuben, stäublein, täufeling, träufeln, träumen, träumerisch, zäumen*; and with **eu**: *beugen, epheu, freude, heu, leugnen* beside *läugnen* (= older NHG. *laugnen*), *streu, streuen*.

§ 133. In MHG. the umlaut of **ou** did not take place before labials in Upper German (§ 79, **ou**), as Upper German *gelouben* (OHG. *gilouben*, older **galaubjan*), *houbet* (OHG. *houbit*) beside Middle German *gelöuben, höubet* which in Luther appear as *gleuben, heupt*. In early NHG. there was quite a number of words which generally had the Middle German umlauted forms, but many of them have now disappeared from the literary language, their place having been taken by the Upper German forms, such are: *erlauben, glauben, haupt, kaufen, raufen, taufe, taufen, zaubern*.

§ 134. **ereignis** for older **eröugnis** occurs already in the sixteenth century; *sich ereignen* (MHG. *eröugen*); *schleife*, older NHG. *schläufe* (MHG. *slöufe*, a slip-knot). These forms have crept into the literary language from dialects which have unrounded **äu** (**eu**) to **ei**.

THE MONOPHTHONGIZATION OF MHG. **ie**, **uo**, **üe**.

§ 135. In Middle German the diphthongs **ie**, **uo**, **üe** became contracted to **ī** (written *ie*), **ū**, and **ü** in the thirteenth century, but remained diphthongs in Upper German and the greater part of East Franconian, where

with various modifications, they have been preserved in the dialects down to the present day.

§ 136. MHG. *ie* has become *ī* (written *ie*) in NHG. This explains why the *ī*, which arose from old short *i* in open syllables, is written *ie* (§ 109).

Examples are: *bier, brief, dieb, dienen, fieber, hier, knie, krieg, lied, lieb, miete, priester, tief, tier, ziegel*; in the present of many strong verbs, as *biegen, bieten, fliegen, fliehen, fliessen, frieren, geniessen, giessen, kriechen, riechen, schieben, schiessen, schliessen, sieden, triefen, verdriessen, verlieren, ziehen*; in the pret. of the old reduplicated verbs, as *blies, briet, fiel, hieb, hielt, lief, liess, rief, riet, schlief, stiess*.

It has been shortened to *i* in *dirne, fichte, fing, ging, hing, immer, licht, nimmer, viertel*. See § 139.

NOTE.—*Lügen* (MHG., also Luther *liegen*) has been formed from the noun *lüge*, and similarly *trügen* (MHG. *triegen*) has arisen from association with *trug*. *demut* (MHG. *diemuot*) is a Middle Franconian form which has crept into the literary language. In this dialect *ie* partly became *ē* already in the MHG. period.

§ 137. MHG. *uo* has become *ū* in NHG., as *bube, buch, bude, behuf, blume, blut, bruder, bug, fluchen, flut, fuder* (cart-load), *fuss, grube, gruss, gut, huhn, husten, hut, klug, kuchen, kuh, mut, pflug, rufen, ruhm, schuh, suchen, stuhl, tuch, tun, wucher, wut*; in the pret. of strong verbs, as *grub, lud, schlug, schuf, trug*.

It has been shortened to *u* in *futler, genůg, muss, musste, mutter, ruchlos, wuchs, wusch*. See § 139.

NOTE.—*Almosen* (MHG. *almuosen*), pret. *hob, schwor* (MHG. *huop, swuor*), are Middle Franconian forms, which have crept into the literary language. In this dialect *uo* partly became *ō* in the MHG. period.

§ 138. MHG. *üe* has become *ū* in NHG., as *blühen, blüte, brühe, bücher, drüse, früh, fügen, fühlen, führen, füsse*,

genügen, glühen, grün, güte, hühner, küfer, kühl, kühn, müde, mühen, prüfen, rübe, rühren, spülen, sühne, süß, trübe, wühlen.

It has been shortened in *brüllen, gerücht, müssen, mütter, nüchtern, rüssel*. See § 139.

NOTE.—In Middle and Upper German dialects *ū* has been unrounded to *ī*. *mieder* (MHG. *müeder*, still *müder* in the seventeenth century) has got into the literary language from these dialects.

D. THE SHORTENING OF LONG VOWELS.

§ 139. The MHG. long vowels (*ā, æ, ē*), which were not diphthongized in NHG., and the NHG. long vowels *ie, ū, ũ* which arose from the MHG. diphthongs, have often been shortened before consonant combinations, but in the great majority of words the long vowels have remained before consonant combinations. The shortening took place earliest in Middle German, where traces of it are found in monuments belonging to the early part of the thirteenth century. But as the shortening took place in the various dialects at different periods, it is impossible to lay down any hard-and-fast rules. It occurs most frequently before consonant combinations in compounds and derivatives, before **cht, hs, ss** (= MHG. *z*, Germanic *t*), in words containing a suffixal **-el, -en, -er**, before **ng**, and in a few other words containing consonant combinations or **ch**. In several cases the shortening has been caused by shifting of the stress. Apart from consonant combinations, it will be seen that those factors, which prevented the lengthening of short vowels in open syllables, have often been the cause of the shortening, especially in words containing **ss, ch** (§ 105, note), and the suffixal elements **-el, -en, -er** (§ 114). Examples are:

bar: *barfuss*, OHG. *brāmbēri* (§ 118): *brombeere, dame*:

dambrett, *dieser* : *diesseits*, *heer* : *herberge*, *herzog*, MHG. *hērlich* : *herrlich*, MHG. *hērschaft* : *herrschaft*, *hoch* : *hochzeit*, *hoffart*, *jener* : *jenseits*, MHG. *lōrber* : *lorbeer*, MHG. *nāchgebüre* : *nachbar*, MHG. *ruochlōs* : *ruchlos*, *uralt* : *ūrteil*, *vier* : *viertel*, *vierzehn*, *vierzig*, *vor* : *vorteil*.

MHG. *āhte* (prosecution) : *acht*, MHG. *brāhte* : *brachte*, *gebracht*, pret. subj. MHG. *bræhte* : *brächte*, MHG. *dāhte* : *dachte*, *gedacht*, pret. subj. MHG. *dæhte* : *dächte*, MHG. *dihte* : *dicht* from Low German, MHG. *ēhaft* : *echt* from Low German, MHG. *viehte* : *fichte*, MHG. *gerüefte* : *gerücht* from Low German, MHG. *lieht* : *licht*, MHG. *nüehtern* : *nüchtern*, Low German *sācht* : *sacht*, MHG. *tāht* (§ 118) : *docht*.

MHG. *wuohs* : *wuchs*, MHG. *dræhsel* : *drechseln*, *drechsler*.

MHG. *anebōz* : *amboss*, MHG. *ansæze* : *ansässig*, MHG. *vlōz* : *flöss* (raft), MHG. *genōz* : *genosse*, MHG. *lāzen* : *lassen*, MHG. *müezen*, *muoz*, *muoste* : *müssen*, *muss*, *musste*, MHG. *ruoz* : *rüss*, *rüssig*, MHG. *rüezel* : *rüssel*, MHG. *truhsæze* : *truchsess*, pret. MHG. *gōz* : *goss*, and similarly in *floss*, *genoss*, *schloss*, *schoss*, *verdross*.

MHG. *blāter(e)* : *blatter*, MHG. *vuoter* : *futter*, MHG. *iemer* : *immer*, MHG. *jāmer* : *jammer*, MHG. *muoter*, pl. *müeter* : *mutter*, *müttler*, OHG. *nātara* : *natter*, MHG. *niemer* : *nimmer*, MHG. *wāpen* : *wappen*.

Pret. MHG. *vienc*, *gienc*, *hienc* : *fing*, *ging*, *hing*. This shortening took place in Middle German in the MHG. period. Luther has *fieng* beside *fing*.

MHG. *dierne* : *dirne*, OHG. *hērisōn* : *herrschen*, OHG. *lērahha* : *lerche*, MHG. *rāche* : *rache*, MHG. *schāch* : *schach*, MHG. *schæchære* : *schächer*, MHG. *genuoc* : *genüg*, MHG. *klāfter*, *krāpfe*, *wāfe* : *klafter*, *krapfen*, *waffe*, MHG. *stuont* : early NHG. *stund*, MHG. *hāst*, *hāt*, *hāte* : *hast*, *hat*, *hatte*.

ei has been shortened to *e* in *elf* (MHG. *eilf*, *einlif*),

elster (MHG. *eilster*, older *agelster*), *nelke* (MHG. *neilkīn*, older *negelkīn*), and to **a** in *zwanzig* (MHG. *zweinzic*).

dar : *dāra'n*, *dārau's*, *her* : *hērei'n*, *hērau's*, *probe* : *prōbie'ren*, *viel* : *vielleicht* (MHG. *vil lihte*), *vor* : *vōra'n*, *vōrau's*, *wohl* : *wōhla'n*.

§ 140. Summing up the results of Chapter VI, we arrive at the following vowel-system for the NHG. period :—

Short Vowels **a**, **e** (ä), **i**, **o**, **u**, **ö**, **ü**, **ə**

Long „ **ā**, **ē** (ā), **ī**, **ō**, **ū**, **ō**, **ū**

Diphthongs **ai** **oi**
 au

NOTE.—Where in the standard language a difference is made in the pronunciation of **e** and **ä**, the latter is more open than the former (§ 90). **ə** is the **e** in unstressed syllables, as in *gabe*, *hatte*, &c. Where a distinction is made in pronunciation between **ē** and **ā** the former is close and the latter open. **ī** is generally written **ie** or **ih**, as in *miete*, *ihm*. With few exceptions (§ 130) **ai** is always written **ei**; and **oi** is always written **eu** (**äu**). The diphthongs **ai** and **au** are pronounced as **ae** and **ao** by many Germans, and the latter are regarded as the standard pronunciation by some of the best phoneticians. **oi** from MHG. **ū** (through the intermediate stages **üü**, **öü**, **oü**) varies in pronunciation in the different parts of Germany. Some phoneticians regard **oü**, or **oö** with the first element very open, as the standard pronunciation.

CHAPTER VII

THE MHG. EQUIVALENTS OF THE NHG. VOWEL-SYSTEM IN ACCENTED SYLLABLES

A. THE SHORT VOWELS.

§ 141. **a** = (1) MHG. **a**, as *band*, *gast*, *kalt* (§ 91).

= (2) MHG. **ā** shortened before consonant combinations, as *blatter*, *dachte* (§ 139).

- § 142. *ä* = (1) MHG. *e*, as *gäste, lämmer, länger* (§ 92).
 = (2) MHG. *ä*, as *mächte, kälber* (§ 93).
 = (3) MHG. *æ* by shortening, as *ansässig, schwächer* (§ 139).
- § 143. *e* = (1) MHG. *ë*, as *feld, herz, helfen* (§ 94).
 = (2) MHG. *e*, as *denken, henne, streng* (§ 92).
 = (3) rarely MHG. *ē* by shortening, as *echt, lerche* (§ 139).
- § 144. *i* = (1) MHG. *i* as *bild, binden, wissen* (§ 95).
 = (2) rarely MHG. *ü*, as *findling, kissen* (§ 102).
 = (3) rarely MHG. *ie* by shortening, as *fang, hing* (§ 139).
- § 145. *o* = (1) MHG. *o*, as *dorf, holz, geholfen* (§ 96).
 = (2) MHG. *u* before nasals, as *sonne, begonnen, sommer* (§ 97).
 = (3) rarely MHG. *ō* by shortening, as *hochzeit, genosse, schoss* (§ 139).
- § 146. *u* = (1) MHG. *u*, as *burg, hund, gebunden* (§ 97).
 = (2) MHG. *ü* before certain consonant combinations in Upper German, as *dulden, kunde* (§ 100).
 = (3) rarely MHG. *uo* by shortening, as *futter, mutter, wuchs* (§ 139).
- § 147. *ö* = (1) MHG. *ö*, as in *dörfer, töchter* (§ 98).
 = (2) MHG. *e* in the neighbourhood of labials, *l, sch*, as *hölle, löffel, löschen* (§ 92).
 = (3) MHG. *ü* before nasals, as *gönnen, können* (§ 101).
- § 148. *ü* = (1) MHG. *ü*, as *dürftig, fülle, kürze* (§ 99).
 = (2) rarely MHG. *i*, as *fünf, münze* (§ 95).
 = (3) rarely MHG. *üe* by shortening, as *mütter, müssen* (§ 139).

B. THE LONG VOWELS.

- § 149. \bar{a} = (1) MHG. \bar{a} , as *abend, nadel, saat* (§ 117).
 = (2) MHG. a in open syllables, as *baden, sagen, zahl* (§ 106); before final r , as *dar, gar* (§ 103); before r + dental, as *art, fahrt* (§ 104).
- § 150. $\bar{ä}$ = (1) MHG. æ , as *nähen, spät, träge* (§ 120).
 = (2) MHG. ë in open syllables, as *bär, gähren, quälen* (§ 108).
 = (3) MHG. e (ä) in open syllables, as *ähre, träne, wählen* (§ 107).
- § 151. $\bar{ē}$ = (1) MHG. $\bar{ē}$, as *ehre, lehren, mehr* (§ 121).
 = (2) MHG. æ , as *bequem, leer, selig* (§ 120).
 = (3) MHG. e in open syllables, as *dehnen, edel, heben* (§ 107).
 = (4) MHG. ë in open syllables, as *geben, mehl, nehmen* (§ 108); before final r , as *er, wer* (§ 103); before r + dental, as *erde, werden* (§ 104).
- § 152. \bar{i} = (1) MHG. ie , as *brief, biegen, hielt* (§ 136).
 = (2) MHG. i in open syllables, as *friede, liegen, sieben, sieg* (§ 109).
 = (3) MHG. i before final r , as *ihr, mir* (§ 103).
- § 153. \bar{o} = (1) MHG. \bar{o} , as *hoch, lohn, rot* (§ 122).
 = (2) rarely MHG. \bar{a} , as *ohne, monat, wo* (§ 118).
 = (3) MHG. o in open syllables, as *honig, vogel, hof* (§ 110).
 = (4) MHG. o before final r , as *empor, vor* (§ 103).
- § 154. \bar{u} = (1) MHG. uo , as *buch, huhn, stuhl* (§ 137).
 = (2) MHG. u in open syllables, as *flug, jugend, kugel* (§ 111).

- § 155. *ō* = (1) MHG. *œ*, as *böse*, *hören*, *öde* (§ 123).
 = (2) MHG. *e* in open syllables in the neighbourhood of certain consonants, as *gewöhnen*, *löwe*, *schwören* (§ 92).
 = (3) rarely MHG. *ü* in open syllables before *n*, as *könig*, *söhne* (§ 101).
- § 156. *ū* = (1) MHG. *üe*, as *blüte*, *fühlen*, *kühl* (§ 138).
 = (2) MHG. *ü* in open syllables, as *flügel*, *lüge* (§ 113).

C. THE DIPHTHONGS.

- § 157. *ai* = MHG. *ei*, as *hain*, *kaiser*, *Mai* (§ 130).
- § 158. *ei* = (1) MHG. *ei*, as *arbeit*, *teil*, *klein* (§ 130).
 = (2) MHG. *ī*, as *bleiben*, *frei*, *schreiben* (§ 125).
- § 159. *au* = (1) MHG. *ou*, as *auge*, *laufen*, *traum* (§ 131).
 = (2) MHG. *ū*, as *braun*, *laut*, *tausend* (§ 126).
 = (3) rarely MHG. *āw*, as *blau*, *lau* (§ 117).
- § 160. *eu* (*äu*) = (1) MHG. *iu*, as *deutsch*, *leute*, *häuser*, *läuten* (§ 127).
 = (2) MHG. *öu* (*eu*), as *bäume*, *beugen*, *räuber* (§ 132).

CHAPTER VIII

THE HIGH GERMAN DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRIMITIVE GERMANIC VOWELS OF UNACCENTED SYLLABLES

I. THE OLD HIGH GERMAN PERIOD.

§ 161. Before formulating the laws which govern the treatment of the vowels in final syllables, it will be useful to state here the laws relating to the treatment of final consonants in prehistoric High German.

(1) Final **-m** became **-n**, and then it, as also Indg. final **-n**, disappeared already in primitive Germanic. When the vowel, which thus became final, was short, it had the same further development as if it had been originally final, as OHG. **joh**, Goth. **juk**, Lat. **jugum**, Gr. ζυγόν, *yoke*; acc. sing. OHG. **wolf**, Goth. **wulf**, Lat. **lupum**, Gr. λύκον, *wolf*; acc. OHG. Goth. **gast**, cp. Lat. **turrim**, *tower*; OHG. gen. pl. **tago**, *of days*, cp. Gr. θεῶν, *of gods*; OHG. nom. **zunga**, *tongue*, **hërza**, *heart*, orig. ending **-ōn**.

(2) The final Indg. dental explosives disappeared in prim. Germanic, except after a short accented vowel, as pres. subj. OHG. **bëre**, Goth. **baíraí** from original form ***bheroït**, *he may bear*; OHG. **bārun**, Goth. **bērun**, *they bore*, original ending **-nt** with vocalic **n** (§ 49); OHG. **māno**, Goth. **mēna** from ***mēnōt**, *moon*; but OHG. **daz**, Engl. **that**, from ***tod** beside OHG. **deih** = *that I*; OHG. **hwaz**, Engl. **what** = Lat. **quod**, beside OHG. **weih**, *what I*; OHG. **az**, Engl. **at** = Lat. **ad**.

(3) The West Germanic treatment of Indg. final **-s** has not yet been satisfactorily explained. In prehistoric High German it became **z** by Verner's law (§ 199), and then later **r**. This **r** has been preserved in German in a few unstressed forms of the personal pronouns, as **mir**, **dir**, **er**, **wir** = Goth. **mis**, **pus**, **is**, **weis**. In other cases the final **-z** disappeared in prehistoric High German, as OHG. **tag** = Goth. **dags**, *day*; pl. nom. OHG. **taga** = Goth. **dagōs**; OHG. **gast** = Goth. **gasts**, *guest*; pl. OHG. **gesti** = Goth. **gasteis**, OHG. **sunu** = Goth. **sunus**, *son*.

NOTE.—It is difficult to account for the final **-s** in certain personal endings of verbs, viz. in the first pers. pl. pres. indic. OHG. **nēmamēs**, *we take*; in the second pers. sing. of the pres. and pret. subj., **nēmēs**, **nāmīs**; and in the second pers. sing. of the pret. of weak verbs, as **neritōs**, *thou didst save*. This **-s** must not be confused with the **s** which became final after the loss of a vowel, as in **nimis** from ***nemesi**, *thou takest*; gen. **dēs**, from

***teso**, of *the*; **hwes** from ***qeso**, *whose*, and similarly in the gen. of nouns, **tages**, &c.

(4) Indg. final **r** remained, as OHG. **fater**, Goth. **fadar**, Lat. **pater**, Gr. *πατήρ*, *father*; OHG. **muoter**, OE. **mōdor**, Lat. **māter**, Gr. Dor. *μᾶτηρ*, *mother*.

§ 162. 1. Final long vowels, inherited from primitive Germanic, became shortened already in primitive High German:

ō became **u**, as OHG. **biru** from ***berō** = Gr. *φέρω*, *I bear*; instr. sing. OHG. **tagu** from ***dagō**, *by day*.

ī became **i**, as OHG. pret. subj. 1. and 3. pers. sing. **nāmi** beside 3. pers. pl. **nāmīn**, *they might take*.

These short vowels then underwent the same further development in OHG. as original final short **u** and **i**. See below.

2. **a** (=Indg. **a** and **o**), which was originally final or became final through the loss of a following consonant, disappeared in dissyllabic and polysyllabic forms already in prim. High German.

u and **i**, which were originally final or became final through the loss of a consonant, disappeared in trisyllabic and polysyllabic forms. They, as well as the **u** and **i**, which arose from the shortening of **ō** and **ī**, disappeared also in dissyllabic forms when the first syllable was long, but remained when the first syllable was short. The regular operation of this law was often disturbed by analogical formations.

Regular forms were: OHG. **weiz** = Gr. *οἶδα*, *I know*; OHG. **weist** = Gr. *οἶσθα*, *thou knowest*; OHG. nom. **wolf** from ***wulfaz** = Gr. *λύκος*, *wolf*; OHG. acc. **wolf** from ***wulfan** = Gr. *λύκον*; OHG. **bëran** from ***beranan**, pre-Germanic ***bheronom**, *to bear*; OHG. **weiz** = Gr. *οἶδε*, *he knows*; OHG. **fimf**, **finf** = Gr. *πέντε*, *five*; OHG. voc. **wolf** = Lat. *lupe*, Gr. *λύκε*; OHG. pret. 3. pers. sing. **kōs**, *he chose*, **bant**, *he bound*, from ***kausi**, ***bandi**, pre-

Germanic *gouse, *bhondhe. Final -er remained in OHG. when not followed by a palatal vowel, as OHG. acc. **fater** = Gr. *πατέρα*, *father*; OHG. acc. **muoter** = Gr. Attic *μητέρα*. OHG. **ist** = Gr. *ἔστι*, *is*; nom. OHG. **gast**, from *gastiz, *guest* = Lat. *hostis*, *stranger*, *enemy*; OHG. **nimis**, *thou takest*, **nimit**, *he takes*, from *nemesi, *nemeti; OHG. **meri**, *sea*, from older *mari, cp. Lat. pl. *maria*; OHG. **wini** from older *winiz, *friend*. OHG. **tōd** = Goth. *dáuþus*, *death*; OHG. **fluot** = Goth. *flōdus*, *flood*; pl. OHG. **wort** = Goth. *waúrda*, Lat. *verba*, *words*; OHG. **fihu** = Goth. *faíhu*, *cattle*; OHG. **sunu** = Goth. *sunus*, *son*; OHG. **situ** = Goth. *sidus*, *custom*; OHG. **biru** = Gr. *φέρω*, *I bear*. Then after the analogy of these and similar forms were made **stat** for *steti, *place*; **sun** beside **sunu**, *son*; **nim** for **nimi** = Gr. *λέμε*, *take thou*; **hilfu** for *hilf, *I help*; **joh** for *johu, *yokes*; **faz** for *fazu = OS. *fatu*, *vats*.

3. The Indg. long diphthongs -ōi, -ōu became shortened to -ai, -au in prim. Germanic, and then underwent the same further changes as old -ai, -au, that is, they became -ē, -ō in West Germanic.

Later than the shortening mentioned under 1, occurred the shortening which was experienced in dissyllabic and polysyllabic words by the long vowel, after which an -n or -z had disappeared, and by the -ē and -ō from older -ai and -au, which were either already final in prim. Germanic, or had become so after the loss of -z, as well as by the -ī which had arisen from older -iji. In this case a distinction must be made according as the long vowel originally had the 'slurred' (circumflex) or 'broken' (acute) accent (§ 23). -ō with the circumflex accent became -ā after the loss of -z, in other cases it became -o. -ō with the acute accent became -a after the loss of -n, or -z. The -ē and -ō from older -ai and -au became -e, -o, and -ī became -i. All these shortenings took place in prehistoric High German. Examples are:—pl. OHG. **gēbā** = Goth.

gibōs, *gifts*, (-ōs); OHG. gen. pl. *tago*, *of days*, (-ōn), cp. Gr. θεῶν, *of gods*; OHG. *zungōno* = Goth. *tuggōnō*, *of tongues*, (-ōn); OHG. *hano*, *cock*, (-ōn); OHG. *gilīhho* = Goth. *galeikō*, *like*, (-ōd); OHG. *taga* = Goth. *dagōs*, *days*, (-ōz); OHG. *hērza* = Goth. *haírtō*, *heart*, (-ōn); OHG. acc. *gēba*, *gift*, (-ōn), cp. Gr. acc. χώρᾱν, *land*; OHG. nom. pl. masc. *blinte* = Goth. *blindái*, *blind*; OHG. pres. subj. *bēre* = Goth. *baírái*, *he may bear*; OHG. dat. *tage*, *to a day*, cp. Gr. loc. οἴκοι, *at home*, dat. λύκῳ, *to a wolf*; OHG. *ahto* = Goth. *ahtáu*, *eight*; gen. sing. OHG. *suno* = Goth. *sunáus*, *of a son*; nom. pl. OHG. *gesti* = Goth. *gasteis*, from **gastiz* older **gastijis*, *guests*, cp. Gr. πόλεις from *πόλεις, *cities*, imp. OHG. *neri* = Goth. *nasei*, from **nazī* older **naziji*, Indg. **noséje*, *save thou*.

§ 163. OHG. short and long vowels remained in final syllables when followed by a consonant, as neut. sing. *blintaz*, *blind*; acc. *inan*, *him*; inf. *hēlfan*, *to help*; gen. *tages*, *of a day*; gen. dat. *hanen*, *härzen* beside nom. *hano*, *cock*, *hērza*, *heart*; nom. acc. pl. *lembir*, *lambs*; dat. pl. *enstim*, *to favours*; *nimit*, *he takes*; *ubil*, *evil*; acc. *hanon*, *cock*; *sibun*, *seven*; dat. pl. *tagum*, *to days*; *habēn*, *to have*; *nemēs*, *thou mayest take*; dat. pl. *blintēm*, beside nom. pl. *blinte*, *blind*; *mahtīg*, *mighty*; *tiurlīh*, *dear*; dat. pl. *hōhim*, *to heights*; *nāmīs*, *thou mightest take*; *salbōn*, *to anoint*; *suohtōs*, *thou soughtest*; dat. pl. *gēbōm*, *zungōm* beside nom. sing. *gēba*, *gift*, *zunga*, *tongue*; acc. gen. dat. sing. *zungūn*.

NOTE.—1. Indg. *o* remained longer in unaccented than in accented syllables in prim. Germanic. It became *a* during the prim. Germanic period except (1) when followed by an *m* which remained in historic times, and (2) when the following syllable originally contained *u*. In these positions the *o* became *u* in OHG., as dat. pl. *tagum*, prim. Germanic **dagom*, *to days*; acc. sing. *hanun* from prim. Germanic **ḡanon-un*, *cock*; acc. pl. *hanun* from prim. Germanic **ḡanon-unz*.

2. Prim. Germanic ē, ī, ō, ū when protected by a consonant in historic times remained in OHG., except that final -ēr became -er, and -ō when originally followed by u in the next syllable became ū. Examples are: OHG. *habēn*, *to have*, *dagēn*, *to be silent*, cp. Lat. *habēre*, *silēre*, but OHG. *fater* = Gr. *πατήρ*, *father*; OHG. pret. subj. *nāmīm*, *we might take*, cp. Lat. *velimus*; OHG. *salbōn* from **salbōn-an*, *to anoint*, but OHG. acc. *zungūn* from **tungōn-un*, *tongue*, acc. pl. *zungūn* from **tungōn-unz*. The ū was then carried into the gen. and dat. sing. and nom. plural.

3. Final -jan became -en, but -jen when preceded by r, as OHG. *heffen* = Goth. *hafjan*, *to raise*; OHG. *nerien* = Goth. *nasjan*, *to save*.

§ 164. The i in the preterite and past participle of weak verbs, Class I, was regularly syncopated after long stem syllables in prehistoric High German, as pret. OHG. *hōrta*, *suohta*, *branta* = Goth. *háusida*, *I heard*, *sōkida*, *I sought*, *ga-brannida*, *I burnt*, beside OHG. *nerita* = Goth. *nasida*, *I saved*; pp. OHG. *gihōrt-ēr*, *gisuoht-ēr*, *gibrant-ēr* = Goth. *háusiþs*, *sōkiþs*, *ga-branniþs*, beside *ginerit-ēr* = Goth. *nasipþs*.

§ 165. If a nasal or a liquid, preceded by a mute consonant, came to stand finally after the loss of a (§ 162, 2), it became vocalic and then generated a new a before it in prehistoric High German, as nom. acc. *ēban*, *even*, from **ēbn*, older **ēbnaz*, **ēbnan*, cp. Goth. *ibns*, *ibnana*; nom. acc. *fogal*, *bird*, from **fogl*, older **foglaz*, **foglan*, cp. Goth. *fugls*, *fugl*; nom. acc. *ackar*, *field*, *acre*, from **akr*, older **akraz*, **akran*, cp. Goth. *akrs*, *akr*, &c.

The a, thus generated, became transferred to the oblique cases also, at first after short syllables, and then later after long syllables as well, as *fogales*, *wuntares*, &c.

§ 166. Medial vowels were often assimilated to final vowels, as *keisar*, *emperor*, gen. *keiseres*; *wuntorōn*, *to wonder*, beside *wuntar*; *sibun*, *seven*, beside inflected form *sibini*, &c.

§ 167. In all OHG. dialects a vowel was developed be-

tween medial **rh**, **lh**, as also before **w** in the combinations **rw**, **lw**, and **sw**. The vowel thus developed appeared mostly as **a** or **o**, but it not unfrequently regulated itself after the quality of a neighbouring vowel. Examples are :—**bëraht** = Goth. **bairhts**, *clear*; **furhten**, *to be afraid*, beside pret. **forhta**, **forahta**; **wurken**, *to work*, beside pret. **worhta**, **worahta**; **bifëlhan** beside **bifëlahan**, *to hide*, **bifiluhu**, *I hide*, **bifilihit**, *he hides*; **garo**, *ready*, inflected form **garwër** beside **garawër**; **mëlo**, *meal, flour*, gen. **mëlwes** beside **mëlawes**, dat. **mëlewe**; **zëswa**, *right hand*, beside **zësawa**.

But the vowel thus developed disappeared again in MHG., and the above forms regularly became: **bërht**, **forhte**, **worhte**, **befëlhen**, **garwer**, **melwes**, **zëswe**.

§ 168. Final **-u** and **-i** became **-o** and **-e** in the ninth century, as **sunu**, **filu**, **fridu**, **tagu**, **blintemu**, **iru**, **meri**, **wini** became **suno**, **filo**, **frido**, **tago**, **blintemo**, **iro**, **mere**, **wine**.

§ 169. The prim. Germanic vowels of unaccented syllables underwent few further changes beyond those described in §§ 162-8 until towards the end of the OHG. period, by which time the vowels had already begun to be weakened to **e**.

2. THE MIDDLE HIGH GERMAN PERIOD.

§ 170. One of the most characteristic differences between OHG. and MHG. is the weakening of the long and short vowels in inflexional syllables to **ə** (written **e**). The weakening had already begun by the beginning of the tenth century, and spread considerably during this and the early part of the following century. It took place earlier when the vowels were followed by a consonant than when they were absolutely final. In the former case the short vowels had been weakened to **e** by the end of the OHG. period, but in the latter case **a** and **o** remained until the beginning of the MHG. period.

The weakening took place earlier in Middle German

than in Upper German. The long vowels, followed by a consonant, were only shortened (not weakened to *e*) in Alemanic of the twelfth century. The weakened vowel *ə* was generally written *e* in MHG., but it is often written *i* in Alemanic (occasionally also *a*) and Middle German. This writing of the indistinct vowel as *i* was especially common in Middle German down to the early part of the sixteenth century. It still occurs frequently in the early works of Luther.

Only a few examples are given here to illustrate what has been stated above, as the history of the vowels in inflexional syllables will have to be treated more fully in the Accidence :—

OHG. nom. pl. *taga*, *days*, nom. gen. acc. sing. *gēba*, *gift*, nom. sing. *zunga*, *tongue*, acc. sing. masc. *blintan*, *blind*, neut. nom. *blintaz*, *blind*, inf. *nēman*, pp. *ginoman*, became in MHG. *tage*, *gēbe*, *zunge*, *blinden*, *blindez*, *nēmen*, *genomen*.

Nom. sing. *hirti*, *herdsman*, *kunni*, *race*, nom. pl. *gesti*, *guests*, gen. pl. *lembiro*, dat. pl. *gestin*, *nimis(t)*, *thou takest*, *nimit*, *he takes*, *nāmi*, *thou tookest*, became in MHG. *hirte*, *künne*, *geste*, *lember(e)*, *gesten*, *nimest*, *nimet*, *næme*.

Gen. pl. *tago*, *gesto*, dat. pl. *tagon*, *lembiron*, nom. sing. *boto*, *messenger*, nom. acc. pl. fem. *blinto*, became MHG. *tage*, *geste*, *tagen*, *lember(e)n*, *bote*, *blinte*.

Acc. sing. nom., acc. pl. *botun*, *nimu*, *I take*, pret. pl. *nāmum*, *nāmut*, *nāmun*, became MHG. *boten*, *nime*, *nāmen*, *nāmet*, *nāmen*.

Nom. pl. *gēbā*, *gifts*, became MHG. *gēbe*.

Nom. sing. masc. *blintēr*, *blind*, dat. pl. *blintēm*, *unsēr*, *our*, *iuwēr*, *your*, *nēmēs(t)*, *thou mayest take*, pl. *nēmēn*, *habēn*, *to have*, became MHG. *blinder*, *blinden*, *unser*, *iuwer*, *nēmest*, *nēmen*, *haben*.

scōnī, *beauty*, *nāmīs(t)*, *thou mightest take*, *nāmīm*, *we might take*, became MHG. *schœne*, *nāmeest*, *nāmen*.

Gen. pl. **gēbōno**, **botōno**, **hērzōno**, **zungōno**, dat. pl. **gēbōn**, **salbōn**, *to anoint*, **suohtōs(t)**, *thou soughtest*, became in MHG. **gēben**, **boten**, **hērzen**, **zungen**, **salben**, **suohtest**.

Gen. dat. acc. sing., nom. acc. pl. **zungūn** became MHG. **zungen**.

§ 171. The weakened **e** regularly disappeared in MHG.

1. After **l** and **r** in dissyllables with short stems, as **ar** (older **are** = OHG. **aro**, *eagle*), acc. gen. dat. **arn**, beside **name**, **namen**; **wol**, older **wole** = OHG. **wola**, *well* (adv.); and similarly in **gar**, **schar**, **milch** (OHG. **milih**), **zal**, **val**, **vil**, **kil**, *quill*, gen. **kil(e)s**, dat. **kil**, nom. acc. pl. **kil**, dat. pl. **kil(e)n**; **bērn**, *to bear*, **stēln**, *to steal*, **swern**, *to swear*, **varn**, *to go*, **var**, **verst**, **vert**, beside **hære**, **hærest**, **hæret**, &c.

2. After **l** and **r** in trisyllabic and polysyllabic forms with long stems, as gen. pl. **blinder(e)**, gen. sing. **engel(e)s**, nom. pl. **engel(e)**, **grœzer** (OHG. **grōziro**), gen. pl. **lember(e)**, gen. sing. **lüter(e)s**, **tiufel(e)s**, dat. pl. **venster(e)n**, **wandelte** (OHG. **wandelōta**), *I wandered*, **wundern** (OHG. **wuntarōn**), **zwifeln** (OHG. **zwīfalōn**). After the analogy of forms with long stems it was dropped in forms with short stems, as pl. **nagel**, **vogel** beside **nagele**, **vogele**; **wider** beside **widere** (OHG. **widaro**); **grober** beside **grobere**.

3. After nasals in the final syllable of trisyllabic forms with long stems, as dat. sing. **blindem(e)**, **guotem(e)**, **liebem(e)**; **gevangen(e)**, *prisoner*, pl. **gevangen** from **gevangen-en** through the intermediate stage ***gevangenn**; gen. **heiden(e)s**, pl. **heiden(e)**. After the analogy of forms with long stems, it was dropped in forms with short stems, as dat. **disem(e)**, **grobem(e)**, **vadem(e)**, gen. **vadem(e)s**.

4. After a nasal before a following **t** in forms with a short stem, as 3. sing. **man(e)t**, **won(e)t**, **scham(e)t**, **nim(e)t**; pl. **nēm(e)t**, *ye take*; pret. **won(e)te**, **scham(e)te**.

NOTE.—The **e**, when not preceded by a nasal, was sometimes dropped in verbal forms ending in **t**. This was especially the

case in *wirst*, *wirt* older *wirdest*, *wirdet* ; *siht*, *he sees*, *sëht*, *ye see*, older *sihet*, *sëhet* ; and often in forms like *gilt*, *vint*, *spricht*, *sticht* beside *giltet*, *vindet*, *sprichet*, *stichet*.

5. In the unstressed forms of dissyllables, as adv. *ane*, *abe*, *mite*, *obe* beside the prepositions *an*, *ab*, *mit*, *ob* ; dat. sing. *dëme*, *wëme*, *ime* beside *dëm*, *wëm*, *im* ; unde, *and*, *wande*, *for*, *because*, beside *und* (*unt*), *wan(d)* ; *hërre*, *frouwe* beside *hër*, *frou* before proper names and titles.

§ 172. The vowel in suffixal and derivative syllables was generally weakened to *e* just as in the inflexional syllables, but in some suffixal and derivative syllables which had a secondary accent the vowel was not weakened to *e*. This was especially the case with derivatives in *-ære* (denoting *nomina agentis*), *-inne*, *-inc* (*-ing*), *-linc* (*-ling*), diminutives in *-īn* and *-līn*, abstract nouns in *-nisse* (*-nusse*, *-nüsse*), *-unge*. In others the vowel fluctuated between the full vowel and *e*, as in *-isch* beside *-esch* ; *-ic* (=OHG. *-ag*, and *-īg*) beside *-ec* ; superlative of adjectives *-ist* (=OHG. *-ist*) beside *-est* (=OHG. *-ōst*) ; *-sal* beside *-sel*. Beside the full forms *-līch*, *-rīch* occurred the shortened forms *-lich*, *-rich*. The OHG. endings of the present participle *-anti*, *-enti*, *-ōnti*, *-ēntī* regularly became *-ende*, but *-ant* occurs in a few old participles which had become nouns, as *heilant*, *wīgant*, *vīant* beside *vīent* (*vīnt*). Examples are : *gartenære*, *schepfære*, *schribære* ; *küneginne*, *vriundinne*, *wirtinne* ; *edelinc*, *müedinc*, *unhappy man* ; *hendelinc*, *glove*, *vingerlinc*, *ring* ; *magedīn*, *vingerīn*, *ring* ; *kindelīn*, *vogelīn* ; *hindernisse*, *vancnüsse*, *captivity*, *vinsternisse* ; *bezzerunge*, *handelunge*, *meldunge* ; *himelisch*, *irdisch*, *kindisch*, beside *-esch* ; *heilic* (OHG. *heilag*), *honic* (OHG. *honag*, *honig*), *künic* (OHG. *cuning*, *cunig*), *manic* (OHG. *manag*), *sælic* (OHG. *sālīg*) beside *-ec* ; *oberist* beside *oberest* ; *kumbersal*, *trüebesal*, *wëhsal* beside *wëhsel* ; *bitterlīch*, *sicherlīch*, *wīslīch* beside *-lich* ; *Dietrīch*, *Heinrich*, beside *-rich*.

The suffixal syllables **-al, -am, -an, -ar** (§ 165) regularly became **-el, -em, -en, -er**, as **nagel, vogel, bodem, eben, zeichen, acker, bitter, wunter**.

3. THE NEW HIGH GERMAN PERIOD.

§ 173. From what has been said in §§ 170-2 it will be seen that, with few exceptions, the OHG. long and short vowels were weakened to **e** in unaccented syllables in MHG. Although the weakening took place in Middle earlier than in Upper German, it is a remarkable fact that the **e** remained more fully intact in Middle than in Upper German during the MHG. and early NHG. period. In this respect, as in many others, Middle German has played an important part in the retention of the **e** in NHG. In Upper German it was dropped in final syllables from about the end of the fourteenth century. A considerable number of these Upper German forms occur in the early writings of Luther, but most of them were doubtless due to the printer. They occur rarely in his later works. The rule, as to the retention or dropping of the final **e**, as it appears in the last edition of Luther's Bible (1542), agrees in general with NHG. usage. The final **e**, when immediately following the principal accent, has disappeared in the modern dialects of Upper Germany and the greater part of Middle Germany.

In late MHG. and early NHG. scholars, especially in Upper Germany, began to introduce a final **e** into forms which had formerly dropped it and into forms which previously had never had it. This was a kind of reaction against dialect usage, and at the same time an attempt to imitate the written language of Middle German. Examples of the introduction of final **e** into forms which did not previously have it are: acc. sing. **boume, vriunde, järe, burge**; nom. acc. neut. pl. **pfërde, kindere**; imperative

and pret. of strong verbs, as *bīte* (*wait*), *vande*, *schuofē*, *stuonde*, &c. This partly explains why the plural of many neuter nouns ends in *e* in NHG., as *felle*, *jahre*, *pferde*, &c., and why the imperative sing. of many strong verbs ends in *e*, as *schreibe*, *singe*, *rate*. Pret. forms like *fande*, *schufe* have now disappeared from the literary language, but they were common in early NHG.

§ 174. The retention or rejection of the weakened *e* in medial and final syllables has been brought about by several important factors, the chief of which are :

1. Behaghel's Law (*Germania*, vol. xxiii, 264 ff.) whereby in trisyllabic and polysyllabic forms the weakened *e* was regularly dropped in the syllable which preceded or followed the one having the secondary accent. That is in forms of the type of $\text{— } e \text{ —}$ or $\text{— } \text{— } e$. Traces of this law occur already in MHG., as *boumgart* beside *boumgarte*, *mensche* (OHG. *mennisco*), *vischær* beside *vischære* (OHG. *fiscāri*), gen. *ābents* beside *ābendes*, pret. *wundert* beside *wunderte*. There are numerous examples in medial syllables, as *beste* (OHG. *bezzisto*), *gebærde* (OHG. *gibārida*), superl. *grøeste* (OHG. *grōzisto*), *hērsen* (OHG. *hērisōn*, *to rule*), *schøenste* (OHG. *scōnistō*), *sælde* (OHG. *sālidā*, *blessedness*), *zierde* (OHG. *ziarida*, *adornment*). In early NHG. the law became general, and all forms which are not in harmony with it are analogical formations. Examples are : *allerhand* (MHG. *allerhande*), *armut* (MHG. *armuote*), *atmung* (MHG. *ātemunge*), *elend* (MHG. *el-lende*), *forderung* (MHG. *vorderunge*), *gärtner* (MHG. *gartenære*), *herzog* (MHG. *herzoge*), *königin* (MHG. *küne-ginne*), *krebs* (MHG. *krēbeze*), *lebend* (MHG. *lēbende*), *leichnam* (MHG. *līchnāme*), *am Montag* beside *tage*, *fremd* (MHG. *fremide*), *friedlich* (MHG. *fridelīch*), *hemd* (OHG. *hemidi*), *jüngling* (MHG. *jungelinc*), *junker* (MHG. *junchērre*), *kebse* (OHG. *kebisa*), *königs* (MHG. *küniges*), *münze* (OHG. *muniza*), *stücklein* (MHG. *stuckelīn*); the

pret. of weak verbs, as *lebte*, *legte*, *sagte* = MHG. *lëbete*, *legete*, *sagete*; *kirchhofs* beside *hofes*; regular forms are *wirtshaus*, *amtsdiener*, *glückskind*, *landsmann*, &c., forms like *tageszeit*, *landesherr*, *gotteshaus*, &c., have been influenced by the simplex *tages*, *landes*, *gottes*.

NOTE.—The *i* in *bräutigam* and *nachtigall* is due to the palatal *g*.

In some words the NHG. uninflected forms have been remodelled on analogy with the inflected forms, as *amt*, gen. *amtes* (= MHG. *ambetes*), *haupt*, gen. *hauptes* (= MHG. *houbetes*), *magd* (MHG. *maget*, pl. *magede*), and similarly in *dienst*, *fels*, *held*, *herbst*, *hirsch*, *nackt*, *obst*, *papst*, and in the pp. of verbs, *gelebt*, *gelegt*, *gesagt*, &c.

2. In adjectives and nouns: The nature of the consonant preceding the final *e* was also an important factor,

(a) If the consonant was a voiced explosive or voiced spirant, the final *e* generally remained, so as to preserve the voiced sound of the consonant in all forms; had the *e* been dropped the consonant would have become voiceless (§ 226), as *öde* (MHG. *æde*), *träge* (MHG. *træge*), *trübe* (MHG. *trüebe*), *weise* (MHG. *wīse*), and similarly in *behende*, *blöde*, *böse*, *gelinde*, *gerade*, *herbe*, *leise*, *müde*, *schnöde*, &c., but *gescheit*, *mild*, *schräg*, *wild* = MHG. *geschide*, *milte*, *schræge*, *wilde*.

ende (MHG. *ende*), *erbe* (MHG. *erbe*), *gebilde* (MHG. *gebilde*), and similarly in *gebäude*, *gebinde*, *gebirge*, *gedränge*, *gefilde*, *gefolge*, *gelände*, *geleise*, *gehänge*, *gemüse*, *gepräge*, *gesinde*, *getreide*, *gewebe*, *gewerbe*, *gewölbe*, &c., but *bild* (OHG. *bilidi*) which passed into the *-er* plurals (§ 398).

(b) If the consonant was a voiceless explosive or voiceless spirant, a liquid or nasal, or if the preceding sound was a vowel, the final *e* was generally dropped, as *spät* (MHG. *spæte*), *kühl* (MHG. *küele*), *leer* (MHG. *lære*), *neu* (MHG. *niuwe*), and similarly in *bequem*, *bereit*, *dicht*, *dünn*, *dürr*,

eng, fest, feucht, früh, gemäss, gemein, genehm, gering, grün, jäh, keusch, klein, kühn, neu, rein, schön, schwer, still, streng, süss, teuer, zäh, &c., but *irre*, and *nütze, kirre* beside *nütz, kirr*, with *e* retained because of their being chiefly used predicatively.

erz (MHG. *erze*), *gebein* (MHG. *gebeine*), *gemüt* (MHG. *gemüete*), *kinn* (MHG. *kinne*), and similarly in *antlitz, bett, flötz, gebiet, gebüsch, gedicht, gefährht, gefecht, gehirn, gehöft, gehölz, geleil, gelüst, gepäck, gerät, geräusch, gerüst, geschäft, geschenk, geschirr, geschlecht, geschrei, gesetz, gespannt, gespenst, gestirn, gewächs, gewicht, glück, heer, heft, heu, hirn, kreuz, netz, ohr, öl, pfühl, reich, &c.*, but *gerippe* which has been influenced by *rippe*.

3. Gender, sex, and the declension to which a noun originally belonged have also played an important factor.

(a) The final *e* has generally remained in the nom. of weak nouns denoting living objects, as *affe, ahne, bote, bracke, bube, buhle, bürge, drache, erbe, falke, farre, ferge, finke, gatte, gefährte, geselle, hase, jude, knabe, knappe, laffe, laie, löwe, neffe, ochse, pathe, pfaffe, rabe, rappe, recke, riese, rüde, scherge, schulze, schurke, senne, sklave, zeuge*, beside the shortened forms in *farr, fink, ochs, pfaff*. The loss of the *e* in *fürst, graf, herr, prinz* is due to the proclitic use of these words before proper names.

Feminine nouns have generally preserved the final *e*, as *gnade, haube, klage, liebe, nase, rede, reise, wiege, &c.*, see (b) below. It has been added in *bühne, ehe* (MHG. *ē*), *granne* (MHG. *gran*), *kehle* (MHG. *kēl*), *krähe, mähne* (MHG. *man*, see § 377), *mühle, schale* (MHG. *schal*), *sohle, waare*, and a few others.

The final *e* has been added to form the neut. pl. of many old *a*-stems, except those ending in *-el, -em, -en, -er, -chen*, and *-lein*, as in *brot, haar, jahr, pferd, ross, schaf, spiel, tier, tor, werk, &c.*, see § 356.

(b) The old weak masculine nouns denoting inanimate

objects have nearly all either dropped the final *e* and then passed into the vocalic or mixed declension ; or have taken the *-n* from the oblique cases and then gone over into the vocalic declension, cp. on the one hand *April* (MHG. *aprille*), *blitz*, *brei*, *gemahl*, *keim*, *kern*, *lenz*, *Mai*, *März*, *schmerz*, *stern*, and on the other hand *balken* (MHG. *balke*), *bogen*, *brunnen*, *galgen*, *garten*, *husten*, *knochen*, *magen*, *rahmen*, *schinken*, *tropfen*, see § 383.

The final *e* has been dropped in several feminine nouns, especially after *t*, as *acht*, *furcht*, *hut* (heed), *maut*, *rast*, *rost*, *schlacht*, *wacht*; *feier*, *form*, *huld*, *mark*, *mauer*, *pein*, *scheuer*, *schmach*, *zier*.

§ 175. Final *-el*, *-em*, *-en*, *-er* have become vocalic *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*, although the *e* is retained in writing, as *handel* (= *handl*), *atem*, *degen*, *denken*, *leben*, *eber*. When the consonant preceding vocalic *n* is a labial or guttural, educated people often assimilate the two sounds, as *denkn*, *lebmn*, but this is not considered 'fine'. The *e* is omitted in writing when the vocalic *n* is preceded by a liquid, as *handeln*, *edeln*, *wandern*, *vätern*, *heitern*, but retained when preceded by *n*, as *rechnen*, *trocknen*.

The normal development of *-ele*, *-eme*, *-ene*, *-ere* is vocalic *l*, *m*, *n*, *r* (§ 171) which have remained vocalic before consonants, as gen. *deckels*, *ebers*; *handelst*, *handelt*, *wanderst*, *wandert*; *edelste*, *trockenste*, *heiterste*. They have also remained vocalic when final, as fem. sing. *nadel*, *feder*; dat. sing. and nom. pl. of masc. and neuter nouns, *deckel*, *engel*, *segel*, *degen*, *eber*, *messer*. But in verbs and adjectives the second *e* has been restored after the analogy of forms where it was regular, as in *ich binde*, *rufe*, *sage*; gen. *blindes*, *gutes*, pl. *blinde*, *gute*, &c. Vocalic *l*, *m*, *n*, *r* have then become consonantal, as *ich handle*, *atme*, *segne*, *wandre*; *edles*, *edle*, *trocknes*, *trockne*, *heîtres*, *heitre*, &c.

The regular forms have often been disturbed by analogical formations, as *ich handele*, *wandere* after the analogy

of *handelt, wandert*; similarly *edlen, heitren* after *edles, heitres*; *edeler, heiterer, edeles, heiteres, edelen, heiteren, edele, heitere* after *edelste, heiterste* and *blinder, blindes, blinden, blinde*.

§ 176. The following paragraphs merely contain an outline of the history of the vowels of unaccented syllables, the rest will be found in the Accidence.

§ 177. Dative: The ending *e* of the dat. singular of nouns and adjectives was dropped after *el, em, en, er* already in MHG. (§ 171). It has been dropped in NHG. (partly also in MHG.) in diminutives in *-chen* and *-lein*. It is generally dropped in nouns ending in a vowel (*dem Schnee, &c.*), and in those ending in *-and, -at, -end, -icht, -ing, -ling, -rich, -sal, -tum* (§ 174), likewise in combinations without the article, as *von tag zu tag, zu fuss, mit dank erhalten, &c.*

In dissyllabic forms NHG. fluctuates between the rejection and retention of *e*. When the one and when the other form is used depends chiefly upon sentence rhythm. In the colloquial language it is dropped more frequently than in the written language.

§ 178. Genitive: The presence or absence of the *e* in the gen. singular follows the same rule as for the dat. sing., except that the *e* is retained after sibilants (*tisches, &c.*). It is always retained in adjectives, but is omitted in adverbial genitives, as *bereits, längs, links, rechts, &c.*

§ 179. Nom. plural: Nouns and adjectives ending in *-el, -em, -en, -er* dropped the *e* already in MHG. (§ 171). NHG. has preserved this rule in the nouns, but *e* has been restored in the adjectives after the analogy of those adjectives whose uninflected forms did not end in a liquid or nasal, as pl. *andere* (MHG. *ander*), *edle* (MHG. *edel*) after the analogy of *blinde*. Masculine and feminine nouns, and the adjectives have retained the *e*. And many old neuter *a*-stems have added it (§ 173).

§ 180. Dative plural: The ending *-en* has become vocalic

n, written **en** (but written **n** after liquids). When the sing. ends in **-en** the dat. pl. ending had disappeared in MHG. (§ 171, 3), but in adjectives it has been restored in NHG. (§ 182).

§ 181. Verbs: **e** has disappeared in the second and third pers. sing. of the present of strong verbs, as *schreibst* (MHG. *schrībest*), *schreibt* (MHG. *schrībet*), *nimmst* (MHG. *nimest*), *nimmt* (MHG. *nimet*), but it is often retained in the second pers. after a voiceless sibilant, as *issest*, *drischest*. When the stem ends in **d** or **t**, the **e** is regularly dropped in those verbs which have umlaut or have preserved the old interchange between **i** and **e** in the present, as *trittst*, *tritt*: *treten*, *wirst*, *wird*: *werden*, *giltst*, *gilt*: *gelten*, *hältst*, *hält*: *halten*, &c., but *bittest*, *bittet*; *leidest*, *leidet*; *bindest*, *bindet*.

In the weak verbs the **e** has regularly been dropped in the second and third pers. of the present, except when the stem ends in **d** or **t**, as *lebst*, *lebt*; *sagst*, *sagt*, &c., but *redest*, *redet*; *betest*, *betet*. In the pp. and the whole of the pret. of weak verbs the **e** has been dropped before the **t** except in those verbs whose stems end in **d** or **t**, as *lebte* (MHG. *lēbete*), *lebstest* (MHG. *lēbetest*), *gelebt* (MHG. *gelēbet*), &c., but *redete*, *redetest*, *geredet*.

With the exception of *sein* and *tun*, verbal forms ending in **n**, which were monosyllabic in early NHG. (partly also in MHG.), have now become dissyllabic after the analogy of the other verbs, as *freuen*, *gehen*, *mühen*, *säen*, *stehen*, *wehen*.

After the analogy of the other verbs, a final **e** has been added in the first pers. sing. pres. indic. of those verbs which regularly dropped the **e** in MHG. (§ 171), as *fahre* (MHG. *var*), *mahle* (MHG. *mal*), &c. After the analogy of the weak verbs, a final **e** has been added in the imperative second sing. of strong verbs, except *kommen*, *lassen*, and in those strong verbs which still preserve the old interchange between **i** and **e** in the present (*nimm*: *nehmen*), as *bleibe*,

biete, binde, rate. The same thing occurred occasionally also in MHG. (§ 173).

§ 182. *e* has been dropped before *t* in the superlative of adjectives (except after dentals and sibilants), as *kleinste, jüngste, höchste*, but *älteste, süsseste*. In *beste* (MHG. *beste*, OHG. *bezzisto*) and *grösste* (MHG. *gröeste*) it was dropped in MHG.

Usage varies after vowels, as *genauste, frohste* beside *genaueste, froheste*. The *e* is always dropped in derivative adjectives, as *härteste* beside *verhärtetste*.

e has been added in those adjectives which regularly dropped it in the inflected forms in MHG. (§ 175), as MHG. nom. sing. and pl. masc. *ander*, NHG. sing. *andrer*, pl. *andere*; gen. MHG. *anders*, NHG. *anderes*. The MHG. shorter forms exist beside the NHG. longer forms with differentiated meanings in *anders* beside *anderes, einzeln* beside *einzelnen, eltern* beside *älteren*.

§ 183. The suffixal and derivative syllables which preserved the full vowel in MHG. also have it in NHG., as *königin, jüngling, finsternis, forderung, freundlich, Friedrich, fräulein*.

Where *e* and *i* fluctuated in MHG. (§ 172), NHG. has *i* before palatal *g, ch, sch*, as *selig, kräftig, rettig, töricht, kindisch*, &c.

§ 184. The weakened vowel was sometimes written *a* in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (§ 170). This accounts for the *a* in NHG. *balsam* (MHG. *balsam, balsem*), *bisam* (MHG. *bisem*), *bräutigam* (MHG. *briutegome*), *brosam, brosame* (cp. MHG. *brösem, brösme*), *eidam* (MHG. *eidem*), *heimat* (MHG. *heimōt, -uot*), *monat* (MHG. *mānōt*), *nachbar* (MHG. *nächgebüre*), *weiland* (MHG. *wīlen(t)*), *fruchtbar* (MHG. *vruhtbære*), and similarly in other adjectives ending in *-bar*. *weigand* (MHG. *wīgant*) was introduced into NHG. from MHG. in the eighteenth century.

CHAPTER IX

ABLAUT (VOWEL GRADATION)

§ 185. By ablaut is meant the gradation of vowels both in stem and suffix, which was caused by the primitive Indo-Germanic system of accentuation. See § 23.

The vowels vary within certain series of related vowels, called ablaut-series. In OHG., to which this chapter will chiefly be limited, there are six such series, which appear most clearly in the stem forms of strong verbs. For the changes, which the vowels constituting the six series underwent in MHG. and NHG., the student should consult the various classes of strong verbs (§§ 490-519). Four stem-forms are to be distinguished in an OHG. strong verb which has vowel gradation as the characteristic mark of its different stems :—(1) the present stem, to which belong all the forms of the present, (2) the stem of the first or third pers. pret. singular, (3) the stem of the pret. plural, to which belong the second pers. pret. singular and the whole of the pret. subjunctive, (4) the stem of the past participle.

By arranging the vowels according to these four stems we arrive at the following system :—

	i.	ii.	iii.	iv.
I.	ī	ei, ē	i	i
II.	eo(io)	ou, ō	u	o
III.	i, ē	a	u	u, o
IV.	ë	a	ā	o
V.	ē	a]	ā	ē
VI.	a	uo	uo	a

NOTE.—1. On the difference between *ei* and *ē*, see § 75; *ou* and *ō*, § 76; and in Series III *i* and *ē*, § 55; *u* and *o*, § 57.

2. Strong verbs belonging to Series II have *iu* in the indicative pres. singular (§ 77); and strong verbs belonging to Series

III-V with *ë* in the infinitive have *i* in the indicative pres. singular (§§ 55, 62).

But although the series of vowels is seen most clearly in the stem forms of strong verbs, the learner must not assume that ablaut occurs in strong verbs only. Every syllable of every word of whatever part of speech contains some form of ablaut. As for example, the sonantal elements in the following stem-syllables stand in ablaut relation to each other:—

heiz, *heiss* : *hizza*, *hitze* ; *lēren*, *lehren* : *lirnēn* (*lērñēn*), *lernen*, *list* ; *wīzago*, *weissager* : *weiz*, *weiss* : *wizzī*, *witz*, *giwis*, *gewiss*.

biotan, *bieten* : *boto*, *bote*, *gibot*, *gebot*, *butil*, *büttel* ; *fliozan*, *fliessen* : *flōz*, *floss* : *fluiz*, *fluss* ; *liob*, *lieb* : *gilouben*, *glauben* : *lobōn*, *loben*, *gilubida*, *gelübde* ; *ziohan*, *ziehen* : *zoum*, *zaum* : *herizogo*, *herzog*, *zug*.

bintan, *binden* : *bant*, *band* : MHG. *bunt*, *bund* ; *trinkan*, *trinken* : *trank*, *trank* : MHG. *trunc*, *trunk*.

bēran, *gebären* : *barn* (child) : *bāra*, *bahre*, *gibārīda*, *gebārde* : *giburt*, *geburt* ; *nēman*, *nehmen* : *gināmi*, *angenehm* : *firnunft*, *vernunft* ; *sprēchan*, *sprechen* : *sprācha*, *sprache* : MHG. *spruch*, *spruch*.

gēba (gift) : MHG. *gābe*, *gabe* : *gift*, *mit-gift*.

faran, *fahren*, *fart*, *fahrt* : *furt*, *fuhrt* ; *hano*, *hahn* : *huon*, *huhn*.

§ 186. In this paragraph will be given the prim. Germanic and Gothic equivalents of the above six ablaut-series, with one or two illustrations from OHG. For further examples see the various classes of strong verbs, §§ 490–519.

I.

Prim. Germ.	<i>ī</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>
Gothic	<i>ei</i>	<i>ái</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>
OHG.	<i>stīgan</i> , to ascend	<i>steig</i>	<i>stigum</i>	<i>gistigan</i>
	<i>dīhan</i> , to thrive	<i>dēh</i>	<i>digum</i>	<i>gidigan</i>

NOTE.—Cp. the parallel Greek series *πείθω* : *πέποιθα* : *ἔπιθον*.

II.

Prim. Germ.	eu	au	u	o
Gothic	iu	áu	u	u
OHG.	liogan, <i>to lie</i>	loug	lugum	gilogan
	biotan, <i>to offer</i>	bōt	butum	gibotan

Cp. the parallel Greek series ελεί(θ)σομαι (fut.): ειλήλονθα: ἤλυθον.

III.

Prim. Germ.	e, i	a	u	u, o
Gothic	i	a	u	u
OHG.	helfan, <i>to help</i>	half	hulfum	giholfan
	bintan, <i>to bind</i>	bant	buntum	gibuntan

NOTE.—I. To this series belong all strong verbs having a medial nasal or liquid + consonant, and a few others in which the vowel is followed by two consonants other than a nasal or liquid + consonant.

2. Cp. the parallel Greek series δέρκομαι: δέδορκα: ἔδρακον; πέμπω: πέπομφα.

IV.

Prim. Germ.	e	a	ǣ	o
Gothic	i	a	ē	u
OHG.	nēman, <i>to take</i>	nam	nāmum	ginoman
	sprēchan, <i>to speak</i>	sprah	sprāchum	gisprochan

NOTE.—I. To this series belong all strong verbs whose stems end in a single liquid or nasal, and a few others.

2. Cp. the parallel Greek series μένω: μονή: μί-μνω; δέρω: δορά: δε-δαρ-μένος.

V.

Prim. Germ.	e	a	ǣ	e
Gothic	i	a	ē	i
OHG.	gēban, <i>to give</i>	gab	gābum	gigēban

NOTE.—I. To this series belong all strong verbs having ē in the present, and ending in other consonants than those in Classes III and IV.

2. Cp. the parallel Greek series πέτομαι: πότμος: ἐ-πτ-όμην; τρέπω: τέ-τροφα: τραπέσθαι.

VI.

Prim. Germ.	a	ō	ō	a
Gothic	a	ō	ō	a
OHG.	faran, <i>to go</i>	fuor	fuorum	gifaran

§ 187. Class VII of strong verbs embracing the old reduplicated verbs (§§ 513-9) has been omitted from the ablaut-series, because the exact relation in which the vowel of the present stands to that of the preterite has not yet been satisfactorily explained. The old phases of ablaut have been preserved in the present and preterite of a few Gothic verbs, as *lētan*, *to let*, *laīlōt*, *laīlōtum*, *lētans*; *saian*, *to sow*, *saísō*, *saí-sō-um*, *saians*.

§ 188. The ablaut-series as given in § 186 have for practical reasons been limited to the phases of ablaut as they appear in the various classes of strong verbs. From an Indo-Germanic point of view, the series I-V belong to one and the same series, generally called the *e*-series, which underwent in primitive Germanic various modifications upon clearly defined lines. What is called the sixth ablaut-series in the Germanic languages is really a mixture of several original series, owing to several Indg. vowel-sounds having fallen together in prim. Germanic, thus the *a*, which occurs in the present and past participle, corresponds to three Indg. vowels, viz. *a* (§ 31), *o* (§ 34), and *ə* (§ 36); and the *ō* in the preterite corresponds to Indg. *ā* (§ 37) and Indg. *ō* (§ 40). For the phases of ablaut which do not occur in the various parts of strong verbs; and for traces of ablaut-series other than those given above, the student should consult Brugmann's *Kurze vergleichende Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*, pp. 138-50.

CHAPTER X

THE FIRST SOUND-SHIFTING, VERNER'S LAW, AND OTHER CONSONANT CHANGES WHICH TOOK PLACE IN THE PRIMITIVE GERMANIC LANGUAGE

§ 189. The first sound-shifting, popularly called Grimm's Law, refers to the changes which the Indo-Germanic explosives underwent in the period of the Germanic primitive community, i. e. before the Germanic parent language became differentiated into the separate Germanic languages:—Gothic, O. Norse, O. English, O. Frisian, O. Saxon (= O. Low German), O. Low Franconian (O. Dutch), and O. High German.

§ 190. The Indo-Germanic parent language had the following system of consonants:—

		LABIAL.	DENTAL.	PALATAL.	VELAR.
<i>Explosives</i>	tenuēs	p	t	k	q
	mediae	b	d	g	g-
	tenuēs aspiratae	ph	th	kh	qh
	mediae aspiratae	bh	dh	gh	gh
<i>Spirants</i>	voiceless		s		
	voiced		z	j	
<i>Nasals</i>		m	n	ñ	ŋ
<i>Liquids</i>			l, r		
<i>Semivowels</i>		w (u)		j (i)	

NOTE.—I. Explosives are consonants which are formed with complete closure of the mouth passage, and may be pronounced with or without voice, i. e. with or without the vocal cords being set in action; in the former case they are said to be voiced (e. g. the mediae), and in the latter voiceless

(e.g. the *tenues*). The aspirates are pronounced like the simple *tenues* and *mediae* followed by an **h**, like the Anglo-Irish pronunciation of **t** in **tell**.

The palatal explosives are formed by the front or middle of the tongue and the roof of the mouth (hard palate), like **g**, **k** (**c**) in English **get**, **good**, **kid**, **could**; whereas the velars are formed by the root of the tongue and the soft palate (velum). The latter do not occur in English, but are common in Hebrew, and are often heard in the Swiss pronunciation of literary German. In the parent Indo-Germanic language there were two kinds of velars, viz. pure velars and velars with lip rounding. The pure velars fell together with the Indg. palatals in Germanic, Latin, Greek, and Keltic, but were kept apart in the Aryan and Baltic-Slavonic languages. The velars with lip rounding appear in the Germanic languages partly with and partly without labialization, see § 198. The palatal and velar nasals only occurred before their corresponding explosives, **ńk**, **ńg**; **ŋq**, **ŋg**, &c.

2. Spirants are consonants formed by the mouth passage being narrowed at one spot in such a manner that the outgoing breath gives rise to a frictional sound at the narrowed part.

z only occurred before voiced explosives, e. g. ***nizdos** = Lat. **nīdus**, Germ. **nest**; ***ozdos** = Gr. **ὄζος**, Germ. **ast**.

j was like the widely spread North German pronunciation of **j** in **ja**, not exactly like the **y** in English **yes**, which is generally pronounced without distinct friction. **j** occurred very rarely in the prim. Indo-Germanic language. In the Germanic, as in most other Indo-Germanic languages, the frictional element in this sound became reduced, which caused it to pass into the so-called semivowel.

3. The nasals and liquids had the functions both of vowels and consonants (§ 30).

4. The essential difference between the so-called semivowels and full vowels is that the latter always bear the stress (accent) of the syllable in which they occur, e. g. in English **ców**, **stáin** the first element of the diphthong is a vowel, the second a consonant; but in words like French **rwá** (written **roi**), **bjér** (written **bière**), the first element of the diphthong is a consonant, the second a vowel. In consequence of this twofold

function, a diphthong may be defined as the combination of a sonantal with a consonantal vowel. And it is called a falling or rising diphthong according as the stress is upon the first or second element. In this book the second element of diphthongs is written *i*, *u* when the first element is the bearer of the stress, thus *ái*, *áu*, &c., but when the second element has the stress the first element is written *j*, *w*, thus *já*, *wá*, &c.

5. In the writing down of prim. Germanic forms the signs *p* (= *th* in Engl. *thin*), *ð* (= *th* in Engl. *then*), *ʰ* (= a bilabial spirant, which may be pronounced like the *v* in Engl. *vine*), *ʒ* (= *g* often heard in German *sagen*), *χ* (= NHG. *ch*).

§ 191. In the following tables of the normal equivalents of the Indg. explosives in Latin, Greek, and the Germanic languages, Table I contains the Indg. *tenues* *p*, *t*, *k*, the *mediae* *b*, *d*, *g*, and the pure velars *q*, *g*. Table II contains the Indg. *mediae aspiratae* and the velars *q*, *g* with labialization. The equivalents in the Germanic languages do not contain the changes caused by Verner's law, &c. The East Franconian dialect is taken as the normal for OHG.

The following points should be noticed :—

(1) The Indg. *tenues* *p*, *t*, *k* and the *mediae* *b*, *d*, *g* generally remained unchanged in Latin and Greek.

(2) The pure velars (*q*, *g*) fell together with the palatals *k*, *g* in Latin and Greek. They became *χ*, *k* in prim. Germanic, and thus fell together with the *χ*, *k* from Indg. *k*, *g*.

(3) The pure velar *gh* fell together with the original palatal *gh* in Latin and Greek.

(4) The Indg. *mediae aspiratae* became in prehistoric Latin and Greek *tenues aspiratae*, and thus fell together with the original *tenues aspiratae*.

(5) The Indg. *tenues aspiratae* became voiceless spirants in prim. Germanic, and thus fell together with the voiceless spirants from the Indg. *tenues*.

(6) In Latin, Indg. **q** with labialization became **qu**, rarely **c**. **g** with labialization became **v** (but **gu** after **n**, and **g** when the labialized element had been lost, as **gravis** = Gr. βαρύς, *heavy*).

Indg. **ph**, **bh** became **f** initially and **b** medially.

Indg. **th**, **dh** became **f** initially, **b** medially before and after **r**, before **l** and after **u** (**w**), in other cases **d**.

Indg. **kh**, **gh** became **h** initially before and medially between vowels; **g** before and after consonants, and **f** before **u** (**w**).

Indg. **qh**, **gh** with labialization became **f** initially and **v** medially except that after **n** it became **gu**.

(7) In Greek, Indg. **q**, **g** with labialization became **π**, **β** before non-palatal vowels (except **u**) and before consonants (except Indg. **j**); **τ**, **δ** before palatal vowels; and **κ**, **γ** before and after **u**.

Indg. **ph**, **bh** became **φ**; **th**, **dh** became **θ**; and **kh**, **gh** became **χ**.

Indg. **qh**, **gh** with labialization became **φ** before non-palatal vowels (except **u**) and before consonants (except Indg. **j**); **θ** before palatal vowels; and **χ** before and after **u**.

(8) When two consecutive syllables would begin with aspirates, the first was de-aspirated in prehistoric times in Sanskrit and Greek, as Skr. **bándhanam**, *a binding*, Goth. OE. **bindan**, OHG. **bintan**, *to bind*; Skr. **bódhati**, *he learns, is awake*, Gr. **πεύθεται**, *he asks, inquires*, Goth. **ana-biudan**, *to bid*, OHG. **biotan**, *to offer*, root **bheudh-**; Gr. **κανθύλη**, *a swelling*, OE. OHG. **gund**, *matter, pus*; Gr. **θρίξ**, *hair*, gen. **τριχός**; **ἔχω**, *I have*, fut. **ἔξω**.

TABLE I.

Indg.	Latin	Greek	P. Germanic	Gothic	OE.	OHG.
p	p	π	f	f	f	f
t	t	τ	þ	þ	þ	d
k, q	c	κ	x	h, x	h, x	h, x
b	b	β	p	p	p	pf, ff
d	d	δ	t	t	t	z, zz
g, ȝ	g	γ	k	k	c	k, hh

TABLE II.

Indg.	Latin	Greek	P. Germanic	Gothic	OE.	OHG.
q ^w	qu, c	π, τ, κ	xw, x	lv, h	hw, h	(h)w, h
g ^w	v, gu, g	β, δ, γ	kw, k	q, k	cw, c	qu; k, hh
bh	f, b	φ	b, b̥	b, b̥	b, f	b
dh	f, b, d	θ	d, d̥	d, d̥	d	t
gh	h, g, f	χ	g, ȝ	g, ȝ	g, ȝ	g
ȝh	f, v, gu	φ, θ, χ	ȝw, ȝ, w	ȝ, w	g, ȝ, w	g, w

§ 192. The Indg. *tenuēs* **p, t, k, q** became in prim. Germanic the voiceless spirants **f, þ, x, χ** (**χw**).

p > f. Lat. *pēs*, Gr. *πούς*, Goth. *fōtus*, OE. *fōt*, OHG. *fuoz*, *foot*; Lat. *piscis*, Goth. *fisks*, OE. *fisc*, OHG. *fisk*, *fish*; Lat. *nepos*, OE. *nefa*, OHG. *nēfo*, *nephew*.

t > þ. Lat. *tu*, Gr. Doric *τύ*, Goth. *þu*, OE. *þū*, OHG. *dū*, *thou*; Lat. *trēs*, Gr. *τρεις*, OE. *þrī*, OHG. *drī*, *three*; Lat. *vertō*, *I turn*, Goth. *wairþan*, OE. *weorðan*, OHG. *wērdan*, *to become*; Lat. *frāter*, Goth. *brōþar*, OE. *brōðor*, OHG. *bruoder*, *brother*.

k > χ. Lat. *canis*, Gr. *κύων*, Goth. *hunds*, OE. *hund*, OHG. *hunt*, *hound*, *dog*; Lat. *cor* (gen. *cordis*), Gr. *καρδιά*, Goth. *hairtō*, OE. *heorte*, OHG. *hērza*, *heart*; Lat. *decem*, Gr. *δέκα*, Goth. *taíhun*, OHG. *zēhan*, *ten*; Lat. *dūcō*, *I lead*, Goth. *tiuhan*, OHG. *ziohan*, *to draw*, *lead*.

q > χ (**χw**). Lat. *capiō*, *I take*, Goth. *hafjan*, OE. *hebban*, OHG. *heffen*, *to raise*; Lat. *vincō*, *I conquer*, Goth. *weihan*, OHG. *wīhan*, *to fight*.

Lat. *quis*, Gr. *τίς*, Goth. *hwas*, OE. *hwā*, OHG. *hwēr*, *wēr*, *who?*; Lat. *linquō*, Gr. *λείπω*, *I leave*, Goth. *leihvan*, OHG. *lihan*, *to lend*.

NOTE.—1. The Indg. *tenuēs* remained unshifted in the combinations **s + tenuis**.

sp. Lat. *spuere*, Goth. *speiwan*, OE. OHG. *spīwan*, *to vomit*; Lat. *con-spiciō*, *I look at*, OHG. *spēhōn*, *to spy*.

st. Lat. *est*, Gr. *ἔστι*, Goth. OHG. *ist*, *is*; Gr. *σείχω*, *I go*, Lat. *vestigium*, *footstep*, Goth. *steigan*, OE. OHG. *stīgan*, *to ascend*.

sk. Gr. *σκιά*, *shadow*, Goth. *skeinan*, OE. OHG. *scīnan*, *to shine*; Lat. *piscis*, Goth. *fisks*, OE. *fisc*, OHG. *fisk*, *fish*.

sq. Gr. *θυο-σκόος*, *sacrificing priest*, OE. *scēawian*, OHG. *scouwōn*, *to look*, *view*.

2. The **t** also remained unshifted in the Indg. combinations **pt, kt, qt**.

pt > ft. Gr. *κλέπτης*, Goth. *hliftus*, *thief*; Lat. *neptis*, *grand-daughter*, *niece*, OE. OHG. *nift*, *niece*.

kt > xt. Lat. octō, Gr. ὀκτώ, Goth. ahtáu, OE. eahta, OHG. ahto, *eight*; Gr. ὀ-ρεκτός, *stretched out*, Lat. rēctus, Goth. rashts, OE. riht, OHG. rēht, *right, straight*.

qt > xt. Gen. sing. Lat. noctis, Gr. νυκτός, nom. Goth. nahts, OE. neaht, OHG. naht, *night*.

§ 193. The Indg. mediae b, d, g, g became the tenues p, t, k, k (kw).

b > p. O. Bulgarian slabŭ, *slack, weak*, Goth. slēpan, OE. slāpan, OHG. slāfan, *to sleep*; Lithuanian dubùs, Goth. diups, OE. dēop, OHG. tiof, *deep*. b was a rare sound in the parent language.

d > t. Lat. decem, Gr. δέκα, Goth. taihun, OHG. zēhan, *ten*; Lat. dūcō, *I lead*, Goth. tiuhan, OHG. ziohan, *to draw, lead*; Lat. vidēre, *to see*, Goth. OE. witan, OHG. wizzan, *to know*; Lat. edere, Goth. itan, OE. etan, OHG. ēzzan, *to eat*.

g > k. Lat. genu, Gr. γόνυ, Goth. kniu, OE. cnēo, OHG. knio, *knee*; Lat. gustō, *I taste*, Gr. γεύω, *I let taste*, Goth. kiusan, OE. cēosan, OHG. kiosan, *to choose*; Lat. egō, Gr. ἐγώ, Goth. ik, OE. ic, OHG. ih, *I*; Lat. ager, Gr. ἀγρός, Goth. akrs, *field, acre*.

g > k (kw). Lat. gelu, *frost*, Goth. kalds, OE. ceald, OHG. kalt, *cold*; Lat. augēre, Goth. áukan, OHG. ouhhōn, *to add, increase*; Lat. jugum, Gr. ζυγόν, Goth. juk, OHG. joh, *yoke*.

Gr. βίος from *gīwos, *life*, Lat. vīvos from *gwīwos, Goth. qius, OE. cwicu, OHG. quēc, *quick, alive*; Lat. veniō from *gwemjō, *I come*, Gr. βαίνω from *βavjω older *βαμjω = Indg. *gmjō, *I go*, Goth. qiman, OHG. quēman, *to come*.

§ 194. The Indg. tenues aspiratae became voiceless spirants in prim. Germanic, and thus fell together with and underwent all further changes in common with the voiceless spirants which arose from the Indg. tenues (§ 192), the latter having also passed through the inter-

mediate stage of *tenuēs aspiratae* before they became spirants. The *tenuēs aspiratae* were, however, of so rare occurrence in the prim. Indg. Germanic language that two or three examples must suffice for the purposes of this book :—Skr. root **sphal-**, *run violently against*, OE. **feallan**, OHG. **fallan**, *to fall* ; Gr. ἀ-σκηθής, *unhurt*, Goth. **skapjan**, OHG. **skadōn**, *to hurt, injure* ; Gr. σχίζω, *I split*, Goth. **skáidan**, OHG. **sceidan**, *to separate* ; Gr. φάλλη, OE. **hwæl**, OHG. **(h)wal**, *whale*.

§ 195. The Indg. *mediae aspiratae* probably became first of all the voiced spirants **b**, **d**, **g**, **g(w)**. These sounds underwent the following changes during the prim. Germanic period :—**b**, **d** initially, and **b**, **d**, **g** medially after their corresponding nasals, became the voiced explosives **b**, **d**, **g**, as

b. Goth. **baíran**, OE. OHG. **beran**, *to bear*, Skr. **bhá-rāmi**, Gr. φέρω, Lat. *ferō*, *I bear* ; Goth. **brōþar**, OE. **brōðor**, OHG. **bruoder**, Skr. **bhrátar-**, Lat. *frāter*, *brother*.

OE. **comb**, OHG. **camb**, *comb*, Skr. **jāmbhas**, *tooth*, Gr. γόμφος, *bolt, nail*, prim. form ***gombhos**.

d. Goth. **dags**, OE. **dæg**, OHG. **tag**, *day*, Skr. **ni-dāghás**, older ***ni-dhāghás**, *hot season, summer*, Indg. form ***dhoghōs** ; OE. **dæd**, OHG. **tāt**, *deed*, related to Gr. θέσω, *I shall place*, Skr. **dhāma**, *law, dwelling-place*, root **dhē-**, *put, place*.

Goth. OE. **bindan**, OHG. **bintan**, *to bind*, Skr. **bándh-anam**, *a binding*, cp. Gr. πενθερός, *father-in-law*, Lat. *of-fendimentum*, *chin-cloth*, root **bhēndh-**.

g. Goth. **aggwus**, OHG. **engi**, *narrow*, cp. Lat. **angō**, Gr. ἄγχω, *I press tight*, root **ańgh-** ; Goth. **laggs**, OE. **long**, OHG. **lang**, Lat. **longus**, *long*.

§ 196. **b**, **d**, **g** remained in other positions, and their further development belongs to the history of the separate languages. See §§ 212, 217-8.

§ 197. Various theories have been propounded as to the chronological order in which the Indg. *tenuēs*, *tenuēs aspiratae*, *mediae*, and *mediae aspiratae*, were changed by the first sound-shifting in prim. Germanic. But not one of these theories is satisfactory. Only so much is certain that at the time when the Indg. *mediae* became *tenuēs* the Indg. *tenuēs* must have been on the way to becoming voiceless spirants, otherwise the two sets of sounds would have fallen together.

§ 198. We have already seen (§ 191) that the parent Indg. language contained two series of velars: (1) pure velars which never had labialization. These velars fell together with the palatals in the Germanic, Latin, Greek, and Keltic languages, but were kept apart in the Aryan and Baltic-Slavonic languages. (2) Velars with labialization. These velars appear in the Germanic languages partly with and partly without labialization; in the latter case they fell together with prim. Germanic *χ*, *k*, *g* which arose from Indg. *k*, *g*, *gh*. The most commonly accepted theory is that the Indg. labialized velars *q*, *g*, *gh* regularly became *χ*, *k*, *g* in prim. Germanic before Indg. *ũ*, *ō*, *o* (= Germanic *a*, § 34), and *χw*, *kw*, *gw* before Indg. *ě*, *ĩ*, *ə*, *a*, *ā* (= Germanic *ō*, § 37); and that then the law became greatly obscured during the prim. Germanic period through form-transference and levelling out in various directions, as Goth. *qam*, OHG. *quam*, prim. form **qoma*, *I came*, for Goth. OHG. **kam* after the analogy of Goth. *qima*, OHG. *quimu*, original form **gemō*, *I come*; Goth. *lvas*, *who?*, Indg. **qos*, for **has* after the analogy of the gen. *lvis* = Indg. **qeso*, &c.

NOTE.—In several words the Indg. velars, when preceded or followed by a *w* or another labial in the same word, appear in the Germanic languages as labials by assimilation. The most important examples are:—Goth. *wulfs*, OHG. *wolf* = Gr. *λύκος* for **flýkos*, prim. form **wlqos*, cp. Skr. *vṛkaś*, *wolf*; Goth.

fidwōr, OE. *fēower* (but *fyper-fēte*, *four-footed*), OHG. *fior*, prim. form **qetwóres*, cp. Lithuanian *keturi*, Lat. *quattuor*, Gr. *τέσσερες*, Skr. *catvāras*, *four*; Goth. *fimf*, OHG. *fimf*, *finf*, prim. form **penqe*, *five*, cp. Skr. *pánca*, Gr. *πέντε*, Lat. *quīnque* (for **pīnque*); OHG. *wulpa*, *she-wolf*, from **wulbī*, prim. form **wlqī*, cp. Skr. *vrkī*; Goth. *wairpan*, OHG. *wërfan*, *to throw*, cp. O. Bulgarian *vrīgā*, *I throw*; OE. *swāpan*, OHG. *sweifan*, *to swing*, cp. Lithuanian *swaikstù*, *I become dizzy*.

VERNER'S LAW.

§ 199. After the completion of the first sound-shifting, and while the principal accent was not yet confined to the root-syllable, a uniform interchange took place between the voiceless and voiced spirants, which may be thus stated:—

The medial or final spirants *f*, *þ*, *χ*, *χw*, *s* regularly became *b*, *ð*, *g*, *gw*, *z* when the vowel next preceding them did not, according to the original Indg. system of accentuation, bear the principal accent of the word.

The *b*, *ð*, *g*, *gw* which thus arose from Indg. *p*, *t*, *k*, *q* underwent in the Germanic languages all further changes in common with the *b*, *ð*, *g*, *gw* from Indg. *bh*, *dh*, *gh*, *gh*.

Verner's law manifests itself most clearly in the various parts of strong verbs, where the infinitive, present participle, present tense, and preterite (properly perfect) singular had the principal accent on the root-syllable, but the indicative pret. plural, the pret. subjunctive (properly optative), and past participle had the principal accent on the ending, as prim. Germanic **wérpō* > OE. *weorðe*, *I become* = Skr. *vártā-mi*, *I turn*; pret. indic. 3. sing. **wárþi* > OE. *wearð*, *he became* = Skr. *va-várta*, *has turned*; pret. 1. pers. pl. **wurðumí* > OE. **wurdum* (*wurdon* is the 3. pers. pl. used for all persons) = Skr. *va-vrtimá*, *we have turned*; past participle **wurðaná* > OE. *worden* = Skr. *va-vrtāná*; OS. *birid*, OHG. *birit* = Skr. *bhárati*, *he*

bears; Goth. 2. sing. indic. passive *baíraza* = Skr. *bhá-rasē*; Goth. *baírand*, OHG. *bërant* = Skr. *bháranti*, *they bear*. Or to take examples from noun-forms, &c., we have e.g. Skr. *pitár-*, Gr. *πατέρ-* = prim. Germanic **faðer-*, Goth. *fadar*, OE. *fæder*, OHG. *fater*, *father*; Skr. *çatám*, Gr. *ἑκατόν*, Lat. *centum* = prim. Germanic **χundóm*, older **χumđóm*, Goth. OE. *hund*, OHG. *hunt*, *hundred*; Gr. *ἐκπαῖ*, OE. *sweger*, OHG. *swiger*, *mother-in-law*; Gr. *δεκάς*, Goth. pl. *tigjus*, OE. *-tig*, OHG. *-zug*, *decade*.

The combinations *sp*, *st*, *sk*, *ss*, *ft*, *fs*, *hs*, and *ht* were not subject to this law.

NOTE.—The prim. Germanic system of accentuation was like that of Sanskrit, Greek, &c., i.e. the principal accent could fall on any syllable; it was not until a later period of the prim. Germanic language that the principal accent was confined to the root-syllable. See § 23.

From what has been said above it follows that the inter-changing pairs of consonants due to Verner's law are: *f—b*, *p—d*, *s—z*, *χ—g*, *χw—gw*. In the West Germanic languages *z* became *r* medially and was dropped finally. It is best to defer giving many examples of Verner's law in OHG. until after the HG. sound-shifting has been treated. See § 221.

OTHER CONSONANT CHANGES.

§ 200. Most of the sound-changes comprised under this paragraph might have been disposed of in the paragraphs dealing with the shifting of the Indg. *mediae* and *mediae aspiratae*, but to prevent any possible misunderstanding or confusion it was thought advisable to reserve them for a special paragraph.

The Indg. *mediae* and *mediae aspiratae* became *tenues*

before a suffixal **t** or **s** already in the pre-Germanic period :—

bt	} pt	bs	} ps
bht		bhs	
dt	} tt	ds	} ts
dht		dhs	
gt	} kt	gs	} ks
ght		ghs	
qt	} qt	qs	} qs
ght		ghs	

Examples are : Lat. *nūptum*, *nūpsī*, beside *nūbere*, *to marry* ; Skr. loc. pl. *patsú*, beside loc. sing. *padí*, *on foot* ; Lat. *rēxī*, *rectum*, beside *regere*, *to rule* ; Lat. *vēxī*, *vectum*, beside *vehere*, *to carry*, root *wegh-* ; Lat. *lectus*, Gr. *λέχος*, *bed*, Goth. *ligan*, *to lie down* ; Skr. *yuktá-*, Gr. *ζευκτός*, Lat. *jūctus*, *yoked*, root *jeug-*, cp. Skr. *yugám*, Gr. *ζυγόν*, Lat. *jugum*, Goth. *juk*, *yoke* ; &c.

Then **pt**, **kt**, **qt** ; **ps**, **ks**, **qs** were shifted to **ft**, **xt** ; **fs**, **xs** at the same time as the original Indg. *tenues* became voiceless spirants (§ 192). And **tt**, **ts** became **ss** through the intermediate stage of **pt**, **ps** respectively. **ss** then became simplified to **s** after long syllables and before **r**, and then between the **s** and **r** there was developed a **t**.

This explains the frequent interchange between **p**, **b** (**b**), and **f** ; between **k**, **g** (**g**), and **h** (i.e. **χ**) ; and between **t**, **p**, **đ** (**d**), and **ss**, **s** in forms which are etymologically related.

p, **b** (**b**)—**f**. Goth. *skapjan*, OE. *scieppan*, OHG. *skephen*, *to create*, beside Goth. *ga-skafts*, *creation*, OE. *gesceaft*, OHG. *giscaft*, *creature* ; Goth. *giban*, OHG. *gēban*, *to give*, beside OE. OHG. *gift*, *gift* ; OHG. *wēban*, *to weave*, beside English *weft*.

k, **g** (**g**)—**h**. Goth. *waúrkJan*, OE. *wyrcan*, OHG. *wurken*, *to work*, beside pret. and pp. Goth. *waúrhta*, *waúrhts*, OE. *worhte*, *worht*, OHG. *worhta*, *giworht* ; OE. OHG.

magan, *to be able*, beside pret. sing. Goth. **mahta**, OE. **meahte**, OHG. **mahta**; OE. OHG. **bringan**, *to bring*, beside pret. and pp. OE. **brōhte**, **brōht**, OHG. **brāhta**, **brāht**.

t, þ, ð (d)—ss, s. Goth. OE. **witan**, *to know*, beside pret. Goth. **wissa**, OE. **wisse**, OHG. **wissa** (**wëssa**); Goth. **qipan**, *to say*, beside **ga-qiss**, *consent*; Goth. **ana-biudan**, *to command*, beside **ana-busns**, *commandment*, pre-Germanic ***bhūtsni-**, root **bheudh-**.

ss became **s** after long syllables and before **r**: Goth. **háitan**, OE. **hātan**, *to call*, beside OE. **hæs** from ***haissi-**, *command*; Goth. OE. **witan**, *to know*, beside Goth. **un-weis**, *unknowing*, OE. OHG. **wīs**, *wise*; Goth. **itan**, OE. **etan**, *to eat*, beside OE. **ǣs**, OHG. **ās**, *carrion*; OHG. pret. **muosa**, beside pres. **muoz**, *I must*. Goth. **gup-blōstreis**, *worshipper of God*, OHG. **bluoster**, *sacrifice*, cp. Goth. **blōtan**, *to worship*; OE. **fōstor**, *sustenance*, cp. Goth. **fōd-jan**, *to feed*.

Instead of **ss** (**s**) we often meet with **st**. In such cases the **st** is due to the analogy of forms where **t** was quite regular, e.g. regular forms were Goth. **last**, *thou didst gather*, inf. **lisan**; Goth. **slōht**, *thou didst strike*, inf. **slahan**; OE. **meaht**, OHG. **maht**, *thou canst*, inf. **magan**; then after the analogy of such forms were made 2. pers. sing. Goth. **wáist** for ***wáis**, OE. **wāst** for ***wās**, OHG. **weist** for ***weis**, *thou knowest*; regular forms were pret. sing. Goth. **waúrhta**, OE. **worhte**, OHG. **worhta**, Goth. inf. **waúrk-jan**, *to work*; then after the analogy of such forms were made OE. **wiste**, beside **wisse**, OHG. **wësta**, beside **wissa** (**wëssa**), *I knew*.

For purely practical purposes the above laws may be thus formulated:—every labial + **t** became **ft**; every guttural + **t** became **ht**; and every dental + **t** became **ss, s** (**st**).

§ 201. Prim. Germanic **gw**, which arose from Indg. **gh**, and from Indg. **q** by Verner's law, became **g** before **u**, in

other cases it became **w**, as Goth. **magus**, *boy*, beside **mawi** from ***ma(g)wī**, *girl*; OE. pret. pl. **sægon**, *they saw*, beside pp. **sewen**; Goth. **siuns**, OE. **sēon** (**sīon**), from ***se(g)wnis**, *a seeing, face*; Goth. **snaiws**, OE. **snāw** (with **-w** from the oblique cases), from ***snai(g)was**, prim. form ***snoighós**, *snow*.

§ 202. Assimilation :— **-nw-** > **-nn-**, as Goth. OHG. **rinan**, *to run*, from ***rinwan**; Goth. **kinnus**, OHG. **kinni** from ***genw-**, Gr. γένυ-**s**, *chin, cheek*; Goth. **minniza**, OHG. **minniro** from ***minwizō**, *less*, cp. Lat. **minuō**, Gr. μινύθω, *I lessen*; OHG. **dunni**, *thin*, cp. Skr. fem. **tanvī**, *thin*.

-md- > **-nd-**, as Goth. OE. **hund**, OHG. **hunt**, prim. form ***kmtóm**, *hundred*; Goth. **skaman**, OHG. **scamēn**, *to be ashamed*, beside Goth. **skanda**, OHG. **scanta**, *shame*.

-ln- > **-ll-**, as Goth. **fulls**, OHG. (gen. **folles**), Lithuanian **pilnas**, *full*; Goth. **wulla**, OE. **wull**, OHG. **wolla**, Lithuanian **wilna**, *wool*.

Prim. Germanic **bn**, **dn**, **gn** = Indg. **pn'**, **tn'**, **kn'**, **qn'** (by Verner's law), and **bhn'**, **dhn'**, **ghn'**, **ghn'**, became **bb**, **dd**, **gg** before the principal accent, then later **bb**, **dd**, **gg**; and in like manner Indg. **bn'**, **dn'**, **gn'**, **gn'** became **bb**, **dd**, **gg**. And these mediae were shifted to **pp**, **tt**, **kk** at the same time as the original Indg. mediae became *tenuis* (§ 193). These geminated consonants were simplified to **p**, **t**, **k** after long syllables. Examples are OE. **hnæp** (gen. **hnæppes**), OHG. **napf**, from ***χnabn'** or **χnabn'**, *basin, bowl*; OE. **hoppian**, MHG. **hopfen**, from ***χoðbn'**, *to hop*; OE. **hēap**, OHG. **houf**, from ***χaubn'**, *heap*; OE. **cnotta**, from ***knoðn'**, beside OHG. **chnodo**, **chnoto**, *knot*; Goth. **hweits**, OE. **hwīt**, OHG. (h)**wīz**, from ***χwīðn'**, *white*; OE. **smocc**, OHG. **smoccho**, from ***smogn'**, *smock*; OE. **bucca**, OHG. **boc** (gen. **bockes**), from Indg. ***bhugnó-**, *buck*.

§ 203. Indg. **z** + media became **s** + *tenuis*, as Goth. **asts**, OHG. **ast** = Gr. ὄζος, from ***ozdos**, *branch, twig*; OE.

OHG. *nest*, Lat. *nīdus*, from **ni-zdos*, *nest*, related to root *sed-*, *sit*.

Indg. *z* + media aspirata became *z* + voiced spirant, as Goth. *mizdō*, OE. *meord*, *pay*, *reward*, cp. O. Bulgarian *mīzda*, Gr. *μισθός*, *pay*; OE. *mearg*, OHG. *marg*, O. Bulgarian *mozgŭ*, *marrow*, root *mezgh-*; Goth. *huzd*, OE. *hord*, OHG. *hort*, *hoard*, *treasure*, root *kuzdh-*.

§ 204. Guttural *n* (ŋ) disappeared before *χ*, as Goth. OHG. *fāhan*, from **fanχanan*, *to seize, catch*; OHG. pret. *dāhta*, beside inf. *denken*, *to think*. See § 54.

§ 205. *χ* became an aspirate (written *h*) initially before vowels, and probably also medially between vowels, as Goth. OE. *hund*, OHG. *hunt*, *hundred*; Goth. *taíhun*, OHG. *zēhan*, *ten*.

Intervocalic *χw* became *χ* in Old Norse and the West Germanic languages, as OHG. *sēhan*, OE. *sēon*, O. Icel. *sjā*, from **sehan*, beside Goth. *saíhvan*, *to see*; OHG. *aha*, beside Goth. *alva*, Lat. *aqua*, *water*.

§ 206. The consonants, which arose from the Indg. final explosives (*t*, *d*), were dropped in prim. Germanic, as Goth. *baírái*, OHG. *bēre*, from an original form **bheroīt*, *he may bear*. See § 161.

§ 207. Original final *-m* became *-n* in prim. Germanic. This *-n*, as also Indg. *-n*, disappeared in dissyllabic and polysyllabic words. For examples, see § 161.

§ 208. *w* disappeared before *u*, as Goth. *kaúrus*, from **kwuruz*, *heavy*; OE. *sund*, *a swimming*, from **swumda-*, beside inf. OE. OHG. *swimman*; OHG. pp. *gidungan*, beside inf. *dwingan*, *to force*. In verbal forms the *w* was mostly reintroduced in the pret. pl. and pp. after the analogy of forms which regularly had *w*, e. g. OHG. *swummum*, *giswumman*, *swungum*, *giswungan*, *swulum*, *giswollan*, beside inf. *swimman*, *to swim*, *swingan*, *to swing*, *swēllan*, *to swell*. For levelling out in the opposite direction, cp. OE. OHG. *singan*, beside Goth.

siggwan (regular form), *to sing*; OE. **sincan**, OHG. **sinkan**, beside Goth. **sigqan**, *to sink*.

§ 209. Initial and medial **sr** became **str**, as OE. **strēam**, OHG. **strōm**, *stream*, cp. Skr. **srávati**, *it flows*; OHG. **dinstar**, from ***pinstra-**, *dark*, cp. Skr. **támisram**, *darkness*; pl. OE. **ēastron**, OHG. **ōstarūn**, *Easter*, cp. Skr. **usrá**, *dawn*; Goth. **swistar**, OE. **sweostor**, OHG. **swēster**, *sister*, with **t** from the weak stem form, as in the locative sing. Goth. **swistr**=prim. Germanic ***swesri**=Skr. dat. **svásrē**.

§ 210. The remaining Indg. consonants suffered no further material changes which need be mentioned here. Summing up the results of §§ 192-209, we arrive at the following system of consonants for the close of the prim. Germanic period:—

	LABIAL.	INTER- DENTAL.	DENTAL.	PALATAL AND GUTTURAL.
<i>Explosives</i> {	Voiceless p		t	k
	Voiced b		d	g
<i>Spirants</i> {	Voiceless f	þ	s	x
	Voiced þ	ð	z	ʒ
<i>Nasals</i>	m		n	ŋ
<i>Liquids</i>			l, r	
<i>Semivowels</i>	w			j (palatal)

To these must be added the aspirate **h**.

CHAPTER XI

SPECIAL WEST GERMANIC MODIFICATIONS OF THE GENERAL GERMANIC CONSO- NANT-SYSTEM. THE HIGH GERMAN SOUND-SHIFTING, ETC.

§ 211. Prim. Germanic **z**, which arose from **s** (§ 199), became **r** medially, and was dropped finally, as OE. **māra**, OHG. **mēro** = Goth. **máiza**, *greater*; pp. OE. **coren**,

OHG. *gikoran*, beside inf. OE. *cēosan*, OHG. *kiosan*, to choose; OE. *dæg*, OHG. *tag* = Goth. *dags*, from **dagaz*, day; OE. OHG. *sunu* = Goth. *sunus*, from **sunuz*, son; OHG. *gast* = Goth. *gasts*, from **gastiz*, guest, stranger.

§ 212. Prim. Germanic *ḑ* (§§ 195-6) became *d*, as OE. *ceald*, OHG. *kalt*, cold; OE. *healdan*, OHG. *haltan*, to hold; OE. *lædan*, OHG. *leiten*, to lead; OE. *rēad*, OHG. *rōt*, red.

§ 213. In West Germanic all single consonants, except *r*, were doubled after a short vowel before a following *j*. This *j* was mostly retained in Old Saxon, but was generally dropped in OE. and OHG., as OS. *sellian*, OE. *sellan*, OHG. *sellen*, Goth. *saljan*, to give up; OE. *fremman*, OHG. *fremmen*, Goth. **framjan*, to perform; OHG. gen. *kunnes*, Goth. *kunjis*, of a race; OHG. *frauwa*, *frouwa*, from **frawjō*-, woman (§ 232); OE. *lecg(e)an*, Goth. *lagjan*, to lay; OE. *settan*, Goth. *satjan*, to set; OE. *scieppan*, Goth. *skapjan*, to create. But OE. *nerian*, OHG. *nerien* = Goth. *nasjan*, to save.

bj, *ḑj*, and *gj* became *bb*, *dd*, and *gg*, as OE. *sib(b)* (gen. *sibbe*), Goth. *sibja* (*ḑ*), relationship; OE. *biddan*, Goth. *bidjan* (*ḑ*), to beg, pray; OE. *hycg(e)an*, Goth. *hugjan*, to think.

For the OHG. treatment of West Germanic *bb*, *dd*, *gg*, and *pp*, *tt*, *kk*, see §§ 217-18.

NOTE.—The *j* in the combination *ji* was dropped before the West Germanic doubling of consonants took place, as e. g. in the 2. and 3. pers. sing. of the pres. indic., as OHG. *hevis*, *hevit* = Goth. *hafjis*, *hafjip*, beside inf. *heffen* = Goth. *hafjan*, to raise; OHG. *fremis*, *fremit*, beside inf. *fremmen*, to perform.

§ 214. *p*, *t*, and *k* were also doubled in West Germanic before a following *r* or *l*. The doubling regularly took place in the inflected forms (as OHG. gen. *ackres*, *bittres*, *hlūttres*, pl. *epfli*), and was then transferred to the uninflected forms by levelling, as OHG. *kupfar*, from Lat.

cuprum, *copper*; OE. *snottor*, OHG. *snottar*, Goth. *snutrs*, *wise*; OHG. *hlūttar*, Goth. *hlūtrs*, *pure, clear*; OHG. *bittar*, OE. *bittor*, *bitter*; OHG. *ackar*, Goth. *akrs*, *field, acre*; OE. *æppel*, OHG. *aphul*, O. Icel. *epli*, *apple*; OS. *lutil*, OHG. *lutzil*, *little*. See § 165.

§ 215. Doubling of consonants also regularly took place before a following *n* in the weak declension of nouns, as sing. nom. **knabō*, *boy*, acc. **knabonun*, beside pl. gen. **knabbnō(n)*, dat. **knabbnum*-. This interchange between the single and double consonants gave rise to levelling in a twofold direction, so that one or other of the forms was transferred to all cases. This explains, e. g., NHG. *knabe*, *rabe*, beside *knappe*, *squire*, *rappe*, *black horse*: OHG. *knabo*, *rabo*, beside *knappo*, *rappo*; OHG. *roggo*, *rye*; OHG. *troffo*, *drop*, *trahho* (from Lat. *draco*), *dragon*, beside *tropfo*, *traccho*.

THE HIGH GERMAN SOUND-SHIFTING.

§ 216. The most striking feature in which High German differs from the other West Germanic languages is the general shifting which certain consonants underwent. This process had its beginning before the period of the oldest HG. monuments, and was practically completed by the end of the eighth century. The prim. HG. language had the following explosives and spirants:—

	LABIAL.	INTER- DENTAL.	DENTAL.	GUTTURAL.
<i>Explosives</i>	Voiceless <i>p</i>		<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>
	Voiced <i>b</i>		<i>d</i>	<i>g</i>
<i>Spirants</i>	Voiceless <i>f</i>	<i>þ</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>x(h)</i>
	Voiced <i>b</i>			<i>ʒ</i>

NOTE.—*b* occurred initially, medially after *m*, and in the combination *bb* (§ 213). *d* occurred in all positions. *g* occurred medially after *ŋ*, as also in the combination *gg*.

§ 217. The only consonants, which were shifted through-

out the whole of the HG. dialects, were the voiceless explosives **p, t, k**. The shifting of the voiced spirants and explosives did not extend over all the HG. dialects. The shifting of **p** to **d** through the intermediate stage of **ḏ** took place in historic times; beginning first in Upper German about 750 A.D., it had gradually extended over all the HG. dialects by the end of the eleventh century.

p, t, k remained unshifted in the combinations **sp, st, sk** as also in the combinations **tr, ht, ft**. See § 192, note.

The voiceless explosives **p, t, k** underwent a twofold treatment according to their position in the word: (1) medially or finally after vowels; (2) initially, medially and finally after consonants (**l, m, n, r**) and when doubled.

1. Prim. HG. single **p, t, k** were shifted in OHG. to the voiceless double spirants **ff, zz, hh** (also written **ch, h**).

p > ff. OE. *open*, OHG. *offan*, *open*; OE. *scip*, OHG. *skif*, *ship*; OE. *slæpan*, OHG. *slāffan*, *to sleep*; OE. *ūp*, OHG. *ūf*, *up*; OE. *wæpen*, OHG. *wāffan*, *weapon*.

t > zz. OE. *etan*, OHG. *ëzzan*, *to eat*; OE. *hātan*, OHG. *heizzan*, *to call*; OE. *hwæt*, OHG. *hwaz*, *what?*; OE. *wæter*, OHG. *wazzar*, *water*.

k > hh. OE. *ic*, OHG. *ih*, *I*; OE. *macian*, OHG. *māhhōn*, *to make*; OE. *sprecan* (*specan*), OHG. *sprēhan*, *to speak*; OE. *tācen*, OHG. *zeihhan*, *token, sign*; OE. *wacian*, OHG. *wāhhōn*, *to be awake*.

The double consonants were simplified according to § 223.

2. **p, t, k**, initially, medially and finally after consonants (**l, m, n, r**), and when doubled, were shifted to the affricatae **pf** (also written **ph**), **tz** (generally written **zz** and **z**), and **kh** (= **k + x**, also written **ch**). Here a distinction must be made between the various dialects. **t** became **z** in all HG. dialects. **p** became **pf** in Upper German and East Franconian, but remained unshifted in Rhenish Franco-
nian except after **l** and **r**; it also remained unshifted in

Middle Franconian. **k** became **kh** (written **ch**, **cc** = **k** + **χ**) in High Alemanic (Swiss), but remained unshifted in the other dialects.

p > **pf**. OE. **pæþ**, UG. and EFr. **pfad**, RFr. and MFr. **pad**, *path*; OE. **pund**, UG. and EFr. **pfunt**, RFr. and MFr. **punt**, *pound*; OE. **weorpan**, UG. EFr. and RFr. **wërpfan**, MFr. **wërpan**, *to throw*; UG. EFr. and RFr. **hëlpfan**, MFr. **hëlpan**, *to help*; OE. **gelimpan**, UG. and EFr. **gilimpfan**, RFr. and MFr. **gilimpan**, *to be meet*; OE. **scieppan**, UG. and EFr. **skepfen**, RFr. and MFr. **skeppen**, *to create*.

t > **z**. OE. **tægl**, **tunge**, OHG. **zagal**, *tail*, **zunga**, *tongue*; OE. **sittan**, **settan**, OHG. **sitzen**, *to sit*, **setzen**, *to set*; OE. **sealt** = OHG. **salz**, *salt*; OE. **sceatt** = OHG. **scaz**, *money*.

k > **kh**. OE. **cnēo**, **cealf** = OHG. **knio**, **kalb**, but High Al. **chneo**, *knee*, **chalp**, *calf*; OE. **weccan**, OHG. **wecken**, but H.Al. **wechan**, *to awake*; OE. **drincan**, OHG. **trinkan**, but H.Al. **trinchān**, *to drink*; OHG. **kind**, *child*, **folk**, *folk*, **wërk**, *work*, but H.Al. **chind**, **folch**, **wërch**.

NOTE.—Instead of **pf** we mostly find **f** initially and frequently **f** (**ff**) medially in H.Al. This is probably merely an inexact attempt to represent the affricata **pf**. This is supported by the fact that the modern H.Al. dialects have **pf** initially.

§ 218. The voiced explosives and voiced spirants did not undergo the same universal shifting as the voiceless explosives. The following are the chief points to be noticed here concerning these consonants:—

1. Upper and Middle Franconian retained **b** initially and medially, as also **bb**. In Upper German **bb** became **pp**, and **b** appears as **p** beside **b**. **p** and **b** fluctuated initially in Upper German throughout the Middle Ages: **bëran**, *to bear*, **bintan**, *to bind*, **lamb**, *lamb*, **sibba**, *peace*, beside Upper German **përan**, **pintan**, **lamp**, **sippa**. See § 219.

b remained medially and became **f** finally in Middle Franconian and in some Middle German dialects, as *gēven*, *to give*, pret. *gaf*; gen. *wīves*, beside nom. *wīf*, *woman*. It was shifted to **b** in Upper Franconian, whereas it appears as **p** (rarely **b**) in the oldest Upper German monuments. **b** came to be used generally in Alemanic in the ninth and in Bavarian in the eleventh century: UFr. *lēbēn*, *to live*, *sibun*, *seven*, *ubil*, *evil*, *gēban*, *to give*, pret. *gab* = UG. *lēpēn*, *sipun*, *upil*, *gēpan*, *gap*. See § 219.

2. All HG. dialects shifted **dd** to **tt**, as OE. *biddan*, OHG. *bitten*, *to request*; OE. *midd*, OHG. *mitti*, *middle*.

d remained initially and medially in Middle and Rhenish Franconian (but South RFr. **t** medially). It became **t** in all positions in Upper German and East Franconian, and finally also in Middle and Rhenish Franconian, thus OE. *dohtor*, *daughter*, *bindan*, *to bind*, *bēodan*, *to offer*, appear in MFr. and RFr. as *dohter*, *bindan*, *biodan*, and in UG. and EFr. as *tohter*, *bintan*, *biotan*; OE. *dēad*, *dead*, *word*, *word* = *tōt*, *wort* in all dialects.

3. **ŋg** (§ 195) remained in OHG.; it is rarely written **nk** in Upper German, as OE. OHG. *singan*, *to sing*; *swingan*, *to swing*.

gg remained in Franconian, but was shifted to **kk** in Upper German, as OS. *liggian*, Franconian *liggen*, *to lie down*, OS. *hruggi*, Franconian *ruggi*, *back*, beside UG. *likken*, *rucki*.

Initial **g** became **g** in Franconian (except North Middle Franconian where it remained). It became **k** (also written **c** before guttural vowels) in Upper German, as OE. *giest*, Franconian *gast*, Upper German *kast*, *guest*; OE. *giefan*, Fr. *gēban*, UG. *kēban*, *kēpan*, *to give*.

Medial **g** remained in Franconian (written **g**), but became a voiceless lenis (written **g**, rarely **k**, **c**) in Upper German. The writing of **k**, **c** medially disappeared in UG. during the tenth century. From then onwards **g** only was used.

Thus OE. *stigan*, *to rise*, *ēage*, *eye*, appear in Fr. and UG. as *stigan*, *ouga*, more rarely in UG. as *stīcan*, *ouca*.

Final *g* became a voiceless lenis (generally written *c*, but also often *g*) in High and Low Alemanic. It became *χ* (generally written *g*) in Bavarian, Swabian, Alsatian, and Franconian, thus OE. *dæg*, *day*, *mæg*, *I may*, appear in High and Low Alemanic as *tac*, *mac*, and in Fr., &c., as *tag*, *mag*.

§ 219. The description, given above of the changes which the primitive HG. voiced explosives and voiced spirants underwent in OHG., is more or less based upon letter-change rather than upon sound-change. The real difficulty lies with the development of primitive HG. *þ* and *g* in OHG. From OHG. alone it is impossible to decide to what extent they remained spirants or became explosives, especially in the Franconian dialects. From the Modern Franconian dialects it is clear that *þ* remained medially and became *f* finally over an extensive area. In like manner, the modern dialects show that medial *g* must have remained in Franconian, and that final *g* became *χ* (written *g*) in Bavarian, Swabian, Alsatian, and Franconian.

In Upper German, where *p*, *pp* and *k*, *ck* interchange with *b*, *bb* and *g*, *gg*, it is certain that the original spirants had become explosives. In this case, it is not a question of voiced explosives having been shifted to voiceless explosives. The fluctuation in the orthography was merely due to the uncertainty existing in the writer's mind as to how he should represent the lenes *b*, *g*. What are written *b*, *d*, *g* in OHG. were not voiced explosives at all, but voiceless lenes. These only differed from the voiceless explosives (fortes) in the intensity or force of articulation. Both sets of consonants were voiceless, just as they are now in most modern HG. dialects. In some modern HG. dialects the lenes and fortes have fallen together in fortes, but most dialects still preserve the distinction.

The voiced sounds **b, d, g** of the NHG. standard language are of North German origin, where Low German was originally spoken.

The rules for the pronunciation of the above sounds as prescribed for the language of the stage are: **b, d** are voiced explosives initially, and medially between voiced sounds, but voiceless explosives before voiceless consonants, and finally. **g** is a voiced explosive initially. It is also recommended medially between vowels, but most North Germans pronounce it as **ɜ** (**tage**) in this position. Finally it is **k** (**tak**) except in the suffix **-ig** where **χ** is prescribed (but **ew'ge** = *ewige*). Most North Germans, however, pronounce the sound as **χ** when final (**taχ**). The rules as laid down for the pronunciation of the language of the stage are now generally recognized as the standard among the educated people of Middle and South Germany.

§ 220. The table below gives a summary of the HG. sound-shifting, so far as the changes are indicated in OHG. orthography. The shifted sounds are printed in italics.

Prim. Germ.	p	t	k
Goth.	p	t	k
OE.	p	t	c
M. Franc.	p ff	z z̥z (t)	k hh
R. Franc.	p (pf) ff	z z̥z	k hh
E. Franc.	pf ff	z z̥z	k hh
U. German	pf ff	z z̥z	ch hh
Prim. Germ.	b	đ	ɜ
Goth.	b, b (f)	d, đ (p)	ɜ, g
OE.	b, f	d, d	ɜ, g
M. Franc.	b v (f)	d d (f)	g g (ɜ)
R. Franc.	b b	d d (f)	g g (ɜ)
E. Franc.	b b	t t	g g (ɜ)
U. German	p (b) b (p)	t t	k (g) g (k)

NOTE.—1. In Middle Franconian *t* only remained unshifted in the pronominal neuter forms *dat*, *wat*, *dit*, *it*, *allet* = MHG. *daz*, *waz*, *diz*, *ëz*, *allez*; in the pret. and pp. of weak verbs which have *tz* (*z*), *z* in the present, as pret. *satte*, *latte*, *groete*, pp. *gesat*, *gelat*, *gegroet*, beside inf. *setzen*, *to set*, *letzen*, *to hinder*, *grüezen*, *to greet*; and in a few other words.

2. The East Franconian consonants are usually taken as the normal in this book, because they mostly agree with those of Middle and New High German.

§ 221. Few OHG. forms were given in the paragraph relating to Verner's law (§ 199) in order that they might be left until after the discussion of the HG. sound-shifting. From what has been said in §§ 217–8, it will be seen that the interchanging pairs of consonants in OHG. are:—

- f*—*b* (UG. also *p*); *d* (older *th*, *dh*)—*t*;
- h* (= prim. Germ. *χ*)—*g* (UG. also *k*, *c*);
- h* (= prim. Germ. *χw*)—*w* (prim. Germ. *gw*);
- h* (= prim. Germ. *ηχ*)—*ng*; *s*—*r*.

f—*b*. *heffen*, Goth. *hafjan*, *to raise*, pret. pl. *huobun*, pp. *gihaban*; *urhab*, *reason*; *wolf*: *wulpa*, *she-wolf*.

d—*t*. *findan*, *to find*, *snīdan*, *to cut*, *wērdan*, *to become*, pret. pl. *funtun*, *snitun*, *wurtun*, pp. *funtan*, *gisnitan*, *wortan*; *tōd*, *death*: *tōt*, *dead*.

h—*g*. *slahan*, *to strike*, *ziohan*, *to draw*, pret. pl. *sluogun*, *zugun*, pp. *gislagan*, *gizogan*; *heri-zogo*, *leader of an army*; *swēhur*, *father-in-law*: *swigar*, *mother-in-law*; *zēhan*, *ten*: *zwein-zug*, *twenty*.

h—*w*. *lihan*, *to lend*, *sīhan*, *to strain*, pret. pl. *liwun*, *siwun*, pp. *giliwan*, *gisiwan*; *aha*, *water*: *ouwa* (from **a(g)wjō-*), *marshy land*.

h—*ng*. *fāhan*, *to seize*, *hāhan*, *to hang*, pret. pl. *fiangun*, *hiangun*, pp. *gifangan*, *gihangan*.

s—*r*. *friosan*, *to freeze*, *kiosan*, *to choose*, pret. pl. *frurun*, *kurun*, pp. *gifroran*, *gikoran*; *haso*, *hare*, beside OE. *hara*.

NOTE.—1. In OHG., and still more in MHG. and NHG., this law was frequently disturbed through the effect of analogy and levelling. See §§ 490-512.

2. Causative verbs had originally suffix accentuation, and therefore also exhibit the change of consonants given above, as *gi-nēsan*, *to be saved*: *nerien*, *to save*; *hāhan*, *to hang*: *hengen*, *to hang*; *wērdan*, *to become*: *ir-werten*, *to injure*; *līdan*, *to go*: *leiten*, *to lead*; &c.

CHAPTER XII

THE HIGH GERMAN CONSONANTS

§ 222. Before entering upon the history of the individual consonants, it will be well to treat here several points concerning the HG. consonants in general.

§ 223. In OHG. and MHG. the double consonants *ll*, *mm*, *nn*, *gg*, *kk*, *tt*, *ss*, &c., were really long, and were pronounced long as in Italian and Swedish, thus OHG. *bit-ten*, *to beg*; *rin-nan*, *to run*; *wis-sa*, *I knew*. Whereas double consonants in NHG. are short and merely indicate that the preceding vowel is short, as *wolle*, *schwimmen*, *schwamm*, *nennen*, *brücke*, *bitten*, *wissen*, &c.

OHG. and MHG. consonants were simplified in the following cases:—

1. When they became final, as *fēl*, *hide*, gen. *fēlles*; *far*, *bull*, pl. *farri*; uninflected form *grim*, *fierce*, inflected form *grimmēr*; *swimman*, *to swim*, pret. sing. *swam*; *rinnan*, *to run*, pret. sing. *ran*; *man*, *man*, gen. *mannes*; *ēzzan*, *to eat*, pret. sing. *āz*; *kus*, *kiss*, gen. *kusses*; *sprēhhan*, *sprēchan*, *to speak*, pret. sing. *sprah*; &c.

2. Before other consonants, as *kunnan*, *to know*, *kussen*, *to kiss*, *brennen*, *to burn*, pret. sing. *konda*, *kusta*, *branta*; &c.

3. Medially after long vowels and consonants, as *lāzan*,

to *let, leave*, *lūtar*, *pure*, *slāfan*, to *sleep*, beside older *lāzzan*, *lūttar*, *slāffan*; *āhten*, to *persecute*, pret. sing. *āhta* (from **āhtta*); *leiten*, to *lead*, pret. sing. *leita* (older *leitta*), MHG. *leite*; *wenten*, to *turn*, pret. sing. *wanta* (from **wantta*).

§ 224. We have already seen (§ 105) that short vowels in open syllables began to be lengthened in Middle German at the beginning and in Upper German at the end of the thirteenth century, and that short vowels remained when followed by consonant combinations including double consonants, thus the vowels in MHG. *alle*, *bitten*, *knappe*, *swimmen*, *trëffen*, have remained short in NHG. In late MHG., double consonants became shortened, although they were generally retained in writing. Then, after the analogy of the double consonants already existing, they became used in other words to indicate that a preceding vowel was short; at first medially only and then at a later period also finally. This principle has been generalized in NHG. except in the case of *s* (= MHG. *z*) where no related forms with medial *ss* (= MHG. *zz*) exist beside them. Thus MHG. *bleter*, *buter*, *doner*, *gegrifen*, *gekomen*, *genomen*, *gepfifen*, *gesoten*, *himel*, *komen*, *spoten*, *sumer*, *veter* = NHG. *blätter*, *butter*, *donner*, *gegriffen*, *gekommen*, *genommenen*, *gepfiffen*, *gesotten*, *himmel*, *kommen*, *spotten*, *sommer*, *vetter*. MHG. *blat*, *brët*, *got*, *haz*, *muoz*, *quëc*, pret. *san*, *span*, *swam*; *schif*, *vaz*, *vël*, *vol*, *vrum*, *weiz* = NHG. *blatt*, *brett*, *gott*, *hass*, *muss*, *queck*, pret. *sann*, *spann*, *schwamm*; *schiff*, *fass*, *fell*, *voll*, *fromm*, *weiss*; but MHG. *allez*, *daz*, *ëz*, *üz*, *waz*, &c. = NHG. *alles*, *das*, *es*, *aus*, *was*, &c.

NOTE.—It is sometimes stated that in passing from MHG. to NHG. all stem syllables became long either by lengthening the vowel or by doubling the consonant. This statement is inaccurate. The double consonants in NHG. are short and are merely used to indicate that the preceding vowel is short.

§ 225. Nötker's law of initial consonants, generally

called Notker's *Anlautsgesetz* in German, is of great importance for determining the pronunciation of what was written **b, d, g** in his dialect (Alemannic) at the end of the tenth century. Briefly stated, the law is: the voiceless lenes **b, d, g** were only used when the preceding word ended in a vowel or in one of the voiced sounds **l, m, n, r**, in all other cases **p, t, k** were used. That is, there existed in Notker's dialect the interchange between the voiceless lenes **b, d, g** and the fortes **p, t, k**. He always wrote **t** for Germanic **d** (§ 218), as **tes tages**—**temo tage** (never **dage**). His interchanged **d** and **t** go back to Germanic **þ**. His rule for the use of initial **v** and **f** was: **f** after voiceless sounds, **v** and often **f** in other cases. The law must have existed generally in Upper German of the MHG. period, but initial **b, d, g, v** were generalized in MHG. orthography, except that **p** was common in Bavarian. Examples are: **ter bruoder**—**unde des pruoder**; **tes koldes**—**unde demo golde**; **in dih**—**unde daz tih**; **taz urlub kab**; **mag pezera sîn**. The two last examples prove that **b** and **g** were voiceless.

§ 226. In MHG. the lenes **b, d, g** became the fortes **p, t, c (k)** when they ended a syllable, that is when they came to stand finally, or medially before voiceless consonants. Traces of the law existed already in late OHG. The interchange between the lenes and fortes includes two independent processes, viz. the change of the medial lenes **b, d, g** to the final fortes **p, t, k**, and the change of the final fortes **f, s** to the medial intervocalic lenes **v**, and to what is written **s** (cp. also NHG. **lesen, las**). It must be noted that in MHG. the interchanging pairs of consonants were all voiceless and that the difference merely consisted in the intensity or force with which the sounds were produced. This is quite different from NHG. where the interchange is between voiced and voiceless sounds except in the case of **f** which is voiceless in all positions in

native words. Examples are : *gēben*, to give, *gelouben*, to believe, pret. *gap*, *geloupte* ; gen. *lambes*, *libes*, beside nom. *lamp*, *lamb*, *līp*, *life* ; *binden*, to bind, *wērdēn*, to become, pret. *bant*, *wart* ; gen. *kindes*, *tōdes*, beside nom. *kint*, *child*, *tōt*, *death* ; gen. *bērges*, *tages*, beside nom. *bērc*, *mountain*, *tac*, *day* ; *biegen*, to bend, *zeigen*, to show, pret. *bouc*, *zeicte* ; *langer*, beside *lanc*, *long* ; *manege*, *many*, beside *manec* ; gen. *brieves*, *hoves*, beside nom. *brief*, *letter*, *hof*, *yard* ; *kiesen*, to choose, *lēsen*, to read, *lōsen*, to loose, pret. *kōs*, *las*, *lōste* ; *hiuser*, *houses*, beside *hūs*.

Intervocalic *h* was no longer a spirant in OHG. (§ 205), but it remained a spirant when final and was written *ch* in late OHG., so that in MHG. we have the interchange between medial intervocalic *h* and final *ch*, as *līhen*, to lend, *sēhen*, to see, pret. *lēch*, *sach* ; gen. *hōhes*, beside nom. *hōch*, *high* ; *nāhe*, *nearness*, beside *nāch*, *near*.

NOTE.—The above rule is not so rigid in the orthography of MHG. manuscripts, as it is generally made to appear in MHG. grammars and in the printed editions of MHG. authors. From our knowledge of the later history of the language, it is certain that the rule existed in pronunciation. In the orthography, however, the medial intervocalic forms of the consonants occur very frequently finally by levelling out the medial forms, just as has almost uniformly been done in NHG. orthography. The levelling out of the medial forms was especially common in Middle German, as *kind*, *lamb*, *lieb*, *tag*, &c.

§ 227. In NHG. the voiced explosives *b*, *d*, *g* have become voiceless when final or when followed by a voiceless consonant, but *b*, *d*, *g* are retained in writing, as *gab*, *glaubte*, *lobte* ; *band*, *kind*, *ward* ; *berg*, *bog*, *tag*, *sagst*, *sagte*. Final *s* has remained voiceless, but has become voiced between vowels, as *lesen*, *lösen*, beside *las*, *löste*.

§ 228. In NHG. the voiceless explosives *p*, *t*, *k* have become aspirated initially and medially before accented

vowels, and also finally after accented vowels. In the last position are, of course, included what are written **b**, **d**, and also **g** in those parts of Germany where final **g** is pronounced as **k** (§ 219). Examples are: *paar, teil, kein, natur, knapp, matt, not, dick, ab, feld, hand, tag*.

THE SEMI-VOWELS.

W

§ 229. Germanic **w** = Engl. **w** in **wet** (generally written **uu**, **uv**, **vu**, **vv** in OHG. manuscripts) remained initially before vowels in OHG. and MHG., as OHG. **wahsan**, *to grow*, **wëg**, *way*, **wësan**, *to be*. It became the labiodental spirant **v** (written **w**) = Engl. **v** in **vat**, in late MHG., and this has remained in NHG., as *wachsen, weg*, &c. **w** must have become a spirant in Bavarian before the end of the thirteenth century, because in this dialect **b** (= Germanic **ḅ**) and **w** had the same value, that is, **w** was written for Germanic **w** and **ḅ** and vice versa. Initial **w** had disappeared before **l**, **r** in prehistoric OHG., as OHG. **ant-luzzi**, Goth. **wlits**, *face, countenance*; OHG. **rëhhan**, Goth. **wrikan**, *to persecute*.

§ 230. **w** had disappeared before **u** in prehistoric OHG. (§ 208), as pp. **gidungan** beside inf. **dwingan**, *to force*; it also regularly disappeared before OHG. **uo** = Germanic **ō**, as OHG. **suozi**, OE. **swēte**, *sweet*; **huosto**, OE. **hwōsta**, *cough*; pret. **suor**, OE. **swōr**, *he swore*. The **w** was often restored by analogy from forms where **w** was regular, as OHG. **swuor** beside **suor**, inf. **swerien**, pp. **gisworan**.

§ 231. In the NHG. combinations **schw**-, **zw**-, **qu**-, we have the bilabial instead of the labiodental spirant, which by many people is pronounced voiceless, as *schwester, schwarz, zwei, zwingen, quelle, quer*, &c. In other cases

NHG. **w** is labiodental, as *ewig* (MHG. *ēwic*), *löwe* (MHG. *lëwe*), *witwe* (MHG. *witewe*).

§ 232. **ww** was treated differently according as it was general Germanic **ww** (= Gothic *ggw*) or West Germanic **ww** from **wj** (§ 213).

1. General Germanic **aww** > **auw** > **ouw** which became **ou** when final, as OHG. inflected form *glauwēr*, *glouwēr*, *clear*, *exact*, uninflected form *glau*, *glou*, beside Goth. *glaggwō*, *exactly*, *diligently*; OHG. *hauwan*, *houwan*, *to hew* = Goth. **haggwan*.

General Germanic **eww** > **iuw** which became **iu** when final, as OHG. *bliuwan* = Goth. *bliggwan*, *to strike*, *triuwi* = Goth. *triggws*, *true*, *faithful*; *spriu*, *chaff*, pl. *spriuwir*; *iu* dat. pl. *to ir*, *ye*.

General Germanic **uww** > **ūw**, as OHG. *scūwo* = Goth. *skuggwa*, *shade*, *shadow*.

2. West Germanic **ww** from **wj**. In this case **aww** > **auw** > **ouw**, as *frauwa*, *frouwa*, *woman*, from **frawjō*; *frouwen*, *to rejoice*, from **frawjan*, beside pret. sing. *frewita* from **frawita* (§ 80). The interchange between West Germanic **ww** (from **wj**) and **wi** gave rise to many new formations in OHG. and MHG., as OHG. *frewen*, MHG. *fröuwen* (beside the regular form *frouwen*), which were formed after the analogy of the pres. second and third pers. sing. *frewis*, *frewit* (§ 213), and the pret. *frewita*. Similarly in MHG. *döuwen*, *to digest*, *dröuwen*, *to threaten*, *ströuwen*, *to strew*, beside the regular forms *douwen*, *drouwen*, *strouwen*. Also in nouns: regular forms were MHG. nom. *heu*, *höu* (= Goth. *hawi*, OHG. *hewi*), *hay*, gen. *houwes*, dat. *houwe*, from which a new nom. *houwe* was formed. Similarly in MHG. nom. *gouwe*, NHG. *gau*, beside the regular MHG. forms *geu*, *göu* = OHG. *gewi*.

iww from original **ewj** became **iuw**, as OHG. *siuwen* from **sewjān*, *to sew*, cp. OE. *sēowian*, Goth. *siujan*; *niuwi* from **newja-*, cp. Goth. *niujis*, *new*.

§ 233. OHG. and MHG. *āw* has become *au* in NHG., as OHG. and MHG. gen. *blāwes*, *grāwes* = NHG. *blaues*, *graues*; OHG. *brāwa*, *klāwa*, *pfāwa*, MHG. *brāwe*, *klāwe*, *pfāwe* = NHG. *braue*, *klaue*, *pfau*.

§ 234. MHG. intervocalic *w* has disappeared in NHG. when the first vowel was *ū*, *ũ* or one of the diphthongs *ou*, *ōu* in MHG., as MHG. *būwen*, *trūwen*, NHG. *bauen*, *trauen*, see § 126. MHG. *iuwer*, *niuwe*, *riuwe*, *pl. siuwe*, *triuwe*, NHG. *euer*, *neu*, *reue*, *säue*, *treue*. MHG. *frouwe*, *houwen*, *ouwe*, *schouwen*, NHG. *frau*, *hauen*, *aue*, *schauen*. MHG. *frōuwen*, *strōuwen*, NHG. *freuen*, *streuen*.

§ 235. MHG. *w* has become *b* after *l* and *r* in NHG. This change had taken place in the Swabian dialect by the end of the thirteenth century. Examples are: *albern* (MHG. *alwære*), *falb* (MHG. *val*, gen. *valwes*, NHG. *fahl* is the old nom.), *gelb* (MHG. *gël*, gen. *gëlwes*), *milbe* (MHG. *milwe*), *schwalbe* (MHG. *swalwe*), *erbse* (MHG. *ärwiz*), *farbe* (MHG. *varwe*), *gerben* (MHG. *gerwen*, *to prepare*), *mürbe* (MHG. *mürwe*), *narbe* (MHG. *narwe*), *sperber* (MHG. *sparwære*, *sperwære*).

§ 236. In OHG. single *w* became vocalized to *o* if it came to stand at the end of a word or syllable, as *balo* (gen. *bal(a)wes*), *wickedness*; *falo* (infl. *falwēr*), *fallow*; *garo* (inflected form *gar(a)wēr*), *ready*; *garwen* (pret. *garota*), *to prepare*; *gëlo* (infl. *gëlwēr*), *yellow*; *kneo* (gen. *knëwes*), *knee*; *mëlo* (gen. *mëlwes*), *meal*; *smëro* (gen. *smërwes*), *fat*; *scato* (gen. *scat(a)wes*), *shade*, *shadow*.

blāo (infl. *blāwēr*), *blue*; *fao* (infl. *fawēr*), *little*; *frao* (infl. *frawēr*), *joyful*; *grāo* (infl. *grāwēr*), *grey*; *klëo* (gen. *klëwes*), *clover*; *rao* (infl. *rawēr*), *raw*; *sëla* from **sëola* = Goth. *sáiwala*, *soul*; *sëo* (gen. *sëwes*), *sea*; *snëo* (gen. *snëwes*), *snow*; pret. *spëo*, inf. *spīwan*, *to vomit*; *strao* (gen. **strawes*), *straw*.

The final *o* was dropped after long vowels in the ninth

century, hence OHG. and MHG. *blā*, *grā*, *klē*, *sē*, *snē*, beside gen. *blāwes*, *grāwes*, *klēwes*, *sēwes*, *snēwes*. In passing from MHG. to NHG. the inflected forms with *w* have been generalized in *blau*, *grau*; in *klē*, *sē*, *snē*, the nom. forms have been generalized, as *see(e)s*, &c.

The final *ao* became *ō* in OHG., whence OHG. and MHG. *frō*, *rō*, *strō*. In passing from MHG. to NHG. the nom. has been generalized, as *froh*, gen. *frohes*, &c.

The final *o* was weakened to *e* in late OHG. and was then dropped after liquids in MHG., as *gël*, *mël*, *val*, *gar*, *smër* (§ 171). *gar* has remained in NHG. as an uninflected particle; in *fahl*, *mehl*, *schatten* the nom. has been generalized, but in *falb* and *gelb* the inflected forms have been generalized.

Final *eo* became *ie* in late OHG., whence MHG. *knie*, gen. *knēwes*; in NHG. the nom. form has been generalized.

§ 237. When *w* was introduced by analogy or levelling into a final position, it has become *b* in NHG., as MHG. *houwen*, to *hew*, pret. sing. *hie* (OHG. *hio*), pl. *hiewen*, from which a new pret. sing. *hiew* was formed = NHG. *hieb*, cp. also the noun *hieb*, and *wittib* beside *witwe*. This sound-change is also common in the modern South and Middle Franconian dialects, as *leb* = literary German *löwe*, and in some Alemanic dialects, as *blāb* = literary German *blau*.

j

§ 238. The Indg. palatal spirant *j* and *i* consonant, written *j* in this book, fell together in *i* consonant in prim. Germanic. *i* consonant was written *i* (rarely *e*, *g*) in OHG. manuscripts.

Initial Germanic *j* has, with few exceptions, remained through all periods of HG., as OHG. *jāmar*, *jār*, *joh*, *jugund*, *jung* = NHG. *jammer*, *jahr*, *joch*, *jugend*, *jung*.

j became a spirant (written g) before e, i in OHG., as *gēhan*, to confess, pres. sing. *gihu*, *gihis*, *gihit*, beside pret. sing. *iah*, pl. *iāhun*. This g became an explosive in those dialects which had the old spirant ȝ (§ 218) in OHG.; hence NHG. *gären* (OHG. *jerian*, *gerian*), *gischt* (MHG. *jëst*, *gëst*), and *gäten* beside *jäten* (MHG. *jëten*, *gëten*). Initial j has become an explosive before other vowels in some modern Middle German dialects, as *gahr*, *gung* = literary German *jahr*, *jung*.

§ 239. j disappeared medially before i already in West Germanic; hence verbs which had double consonants in the inf. by the West Germanic doubling of consonants (§ 213) have only a single consonant in the second and third pers. of the present indic., as OHG. inf. *bitten*, to beg, *liggen*, to lie down, *leggen*, to lay, *zellen*, to say, beside *bitis*, *bitit*; *ligis*, *ligit*; *legis*, *legit*; *zelis*, *zelit*. In MHG. this distinction was partly given up through generalizing one or other of the forms, as *biten*, *legen*, *ligen*, *zeln*, beside *bitten*, *leggen*, *liggen*, *zellen*. In NHG. the distinction has entirely disappeared, so that in some verbs the forms with double consonants, and in other verbs the forms with single consonants, have been generalized, as *brennen*, *bitten*, *küssen*, *stellen*; *dehnen*, *legen*, *liegen*, *zählen*.

After consonants (except r) medial j became reduced to a mere vocalic glide, written e, i, in the oldest HG. This glide disappeared in the ninth century, as *heffiu* = Goth. *hafja*, I raise, dat. *kunnie* = Goth. *kunja*, to a race, *sippia*, *sippea* = Goth. *sibja*, peace, relationship, *willio* = Goth. *wilja*, will, became *heffu*, *kunne*, *sippa*, *willo*.

§ 240. j in the combination rj regularly became a spirant, in OHG. or early MHG., which would have become g in NHG. (§ 238). A few such forms have remained in NHG., as *ferge* (OHG. *ferio*), *latwerge* (MHG. *latwerge*, *latwërje*), *scherge* (OHG. *scerio*, MHG. *scherge*, *scherje*). In other words, where we should expect rg in NHG., those

forms have been generalized where the *j* had become *i* (finally) or had disappeared already in prehistoric HG., thus the regular form is *heer* (= OHG. *heri*), on the model of which the gen. *heer(e)s*, dat. *heer(e)*, have been formed for **herges*, **herge*; *nähren* (OHG. *nerien*) for **närgen*, after the analogy of the second and third pers. sing. pres. indic. (OHG. *neris*, *nerit*) and the pret. (OHG. *nerita*).

§ 241. Prim. Germanic *jj* became *ddj* in Gothic and *ggj*, *gg* in O.Icel. In OHG. *ajj* became *eij*, and *ijj* became *ij*, as gen. Goth. *twaddjē*, O.Icel. *tveggja*, OHG. *zweio*, later *zweio*, of *two*; O.Icel. *egg*, OHG. *ei* from **aijaz*, *egg*; proper name O.Icel. *Frigg*, OHG. *Frī(i)a*.

§ 242. In the verba pura, forms with and without a developed glide (written *j*) existed side by side in OHG. and MHG. In NHG. the glide has disappeared (cp. § 280). Examples are: OHG. *bluojen*, *drājen*, *muojen*, *sājen* = MHG. *blüejēn*, *drāejēn*, *müejēn*, *sāejēn*, beside OHG. *bluoēn*, *drāēn*, *muoēn*, *sāēn* = MHG. *blüēn*, *drāēn*, *müēn*, *sāēn*, NHG. *blühen*, *drehen*, *mühen*, *säen*.

§ 243. Final *-jan* became *-en*, but *-jen* when preceded by *r*, as OHG. *heffen* = Goth. *hafjan*, to raise; OHG. *nerien* = Goth. *nasjan*, to save.

Final *j* became *i* in prehistoric HG., as *betti* (Goth. *badi*, gen. *badjis*), *bed*; *kunni* (Goth. *kuni*, gen. *kunjis*), *race*, *generation*; *nezzi* (Goth. *nati*, gen. *natjis*), *net*; and similarly in *hirti*, *shepherd*, *festi*, *fast*, *scōni*, *beautiful*, &c. The regularly developed forms of the nom. of *betti*, *kunni*, *nezzi*, and similar forms with double consonants in the nom., would be **beti*, **kuni*, **nezi*. The double consonants have been introduced into the nom. by levelling out the inflected stem forms.

When *j* came to stand finally in historic times it became a spirant, as NHG. *eppich* (MHG. *epfīch*, *epfe*, from Lat. *apium*); *käfig* (MHG. *kevje*, from late Lat. *cavia*, *cavea*); *mennig* (MHG. *menig*, from Lat. *minium*).

THE LIQUIDS.

I

§ 244. Germanic *l* remained unchanged in HG., as OHG. *alt, blint, kalb, fēld, haltan, lamb, lēbēn, mēlo, stellen, waltan, wollen* = NHG. *alt, blind, kalb, feld, halten, lamm, leben, mehl, stellen, waltan, wollen*. On vocalic *l* in NHG. *edel, vogel, himmel, nagel, &c.*, see § 175.

r

§ 245. Germanic *r* has generally remained in HG., as OHG. *arm, bērg, brennen, dorf, dringan, faran, friunt, grab, meri, rātan, wērdan* = NHG. *arm, berg, brennen, dorf, dringen, fahren, freund, grab, meer, raten, werden*. On the vocalic *r* in NHG. *bitter, vater, &c.*, see § 175.

Final *r* disappeared in monosyllables after long vowels in late OHG. of the eleventh century, as *dā, wā, ē, hie*, older *dār, wār, ēr, hiar*; whence NHG. *da, wo*, beside *darin, worin*; *hierunter* beside *hienieden*; *ehe* beside *eher*.

NOTE.—OHG., MHG., and early NHG. *r* was the front or point trill *r* as in modern Scotch. This *r* began to give way to the back or uvular *r* in the eighteenth century. In modern times it has spread extensively in towns and North Germany. Its origin in Germany was probably due to the imitation of French pronunciation. It arose in France about the middle of the seventeenth century and rapidly became common in the language of refined society.

THE NASALS.

m

§ 246. Germanic *m* has generally remained unchanged in HG. initially, medially, and also finally in monosyllables, as OHG. *machōn, meri*; *fremidi, himil, namo, nēman*,

swimman; arm, heim, nim = NHG. *machen, meer; fremd, himmel, name, nehmen, schwimmen; arm, heim, nimm.*

Germanic medial **·mþ·** became **·mft·** through the intermediate stage of **·mfþ·** in prehistoric HG. **·mft·** then became **·nft·** during the OHG. period, as OHG. and NHG. **brunft**: OHG. **brëman**, *to roar, bellow*; OHG. **kunft**, NHG. *zukunft, künftig*: OHG. **quëman**, NHG. *kommen*; OHG. **nunft**, *a taking*, NHG. *vernunft, vernünftig*: OHG. **nëman**, NHG. *nehmen*; OHG. and NHG. **zunft**: OHG. **zëman**, NHG. *ziemen*. And **mf** became **nf**, as OHG. **finf**, older **fimf**, NHG. *fünf*.

Final **·m**, when an element of inflexion, became **·n** in the course of the ninth century, as dat. pl. **tagum, gestim, blintëm, dëm**; **bim**, *I am*, **habëm**, *I have*, **mahhöm**, *I make*, **nāmum**, *we took*, became **tagun, gestin, blintën, dën**; **bin, habën, mahhōn, nāmun**. The final **·n** in the first pers. sing. pres. indic. of weak verbs, Class II and III, **mahhōn, habën**, was dropped in the MHG. period after the analogy of the strong verbs and weak verbs, Class I. In other cases final **·n** when an element of inflexion has generally remained in NHG., as *tagen, blinden, nahmen*, &c.

In late MHG. and early NHG. final **·m**, when not an element of inflexion, became **·n** in words of more than one syllable, as MHG. **bësem(e), bodem, buosem, vadem, gadem** = NHG. *besen, boden, busen, faden, gaden* beside *gadem*. Forms like *atem, eidam, gadem, odem, oheim* have their **·m** from the inflected forms; thus regular forms were MHG. **äten**, gen. **ātem(e)s**, dat. **ātem(e)**. In Alemanic final **·m** became **·n** in monosyllables also, as **heim**, **ruom** became **hein, ruon**.

n

§ 247. Germanic **n** has generally remained unchanged in all periods of the HG. language, as OHG. **nagal, nëman, niun**; **bintan, findan, senten, uns**; **brennen, biginnan**;

rēgan, sibun, stein, dīn; pl. zungūn, acc. sing. blintan, in, dēn, wēn = NHG. *nagel, nehmen, neun; binden, finden, senden, uns; brennen, beginnen; regen, sieben, stein, dein; zungen, blinden, ihn, den, wen.* See § 175. Forms in which final inflexional *-n* has disappeared in NHG. will be treated in the Accidence, as gen. dat. acc. sing. OHG. zungūn, MHG. zungen, NHG. *zunge*. In MHG. *n* became *m* before labials by assimilation, as MHG. an(e)bōz, enbor, einber, hin(t)ber (cp. Engl. dial. *hindberry*), inbīz, win(t)-brā(we), became ambōz, embor, eimber, himber (himper), imbīz, wimbrā; whence NHG. *amboss, empor, einer, himbeere, imbiss, wimper*.

Similarly in the NHG. prefix *ent-*, the *t* became *p* before a following labial, and then *enp-* became *emp-*, as in *empfangen, empfehlen, empfinden*. Forms like *entbehren* (MHG. *embērn*), *entfallen, entfremden*, are new formations.

§ 248. *n* has disappeared by assimilation in *eiland*, older *einland*, *elf* (MHG. *eilf, einlif*), *siebzehn, -zig*, beside *sieben*.

n has disappeared in an unstressed syllable when preceded by *n* in a stressed syllable, as MHG. *mīnenthalben, -wēgen*, NHG. *mennenthalben, -wegen*; similarly in *deinet-, seinet-*; then after the analogy of these also *euret-, ihret-*. MHG. *swīnīn·fleisch* = NHG. *schweinefleisch*.

§ 249. The *n* in MHG. *sunst* (NHG. *sonst*) beside *sus, sust* is probably of Alemanic origin, where stem vowels, especially when long, were nasalized before *s*, as *funst, linse*, NHG. *faust, leise*.

ŋ

§ 250. The Germanic guttural nasal *ŋ* (written *n*) only occurred medially before *g* and *k*.

It has remained before *k* in all periods of the HG. language, as OHG. *dankōn, denken, sinkan, trinkan*;

bank, dank = NHG. *danken, denken, sinken, trinken*; *bank, dank*.

Intervocalic **ŋg** (as in Engl. *finger*, not as in NHG. *finger*) remained in OHG. and MHG., but has become **ŋ** (written **ng**) in NHG., as OHG. *bringan, fingar, hungar, singan, zunga* = NHG. *bringen* (= *brinən*), *finger, hunger, singen, zunge*.

In final stressed syllables **ŋg** became **ŋk** in MHG., as MHG. *dinc, junc, lanc*, beside gen. *dinges, junges, langes*; pret. sing. *sanc* beside pret. pl. *sangen*. This final **ŋk** sound has been retained in NHG. in the dialects—often also amongst educated people—of a great part of North and North Middle Germany. On the other hand the intervocalic form **ŋ** has been generalized in the recognized standard language and in the dialects of South and South Middle Germany.

The guttural **ŋ** disappeared in an unstressed syllable when preceded by **n** in a stressed syllable in the course of the OHG. and MHG. period, as OHG. *honag* beside *honang*, NHG. *honig*; OHG. *kunig*, MHG. *künic*, beside OHG. *kuning*, NHG. *könig*; OHG. *pfennig*, MHG. *pfennic*, beside OHG. *pfenning*, MHG. *pfenninc*, NHG. *pfennig*.

The **ŋ** has disappeared in the secondary stressed syllable of NHG. *verteidigen* = MHG. *verteidingen*, older *vertagedingen*.

THE LABIALS.

p

§ 251. The history of Germanic **p** in OHG. has already been given in § 217. Germanic **p** only remained unshifted in the combination **sp**, as OHG. *spinnan, spizza, sprēchan* = NHG. *spinnen, spitze, sprechen*.

The **pf**, which arose from Germanic **p**, **pp**, has generally

remained in all periods of HG., as OHG. *pfad*, *pfëffar*, *pflegan*; *charpfo*, *kuphar*, *opfar*, *skephen*, *tropfo*; *kamph*, *knopf* = NHG. *pfad*, *pfeffer*, *pflegen*; *karpsen*, *kupfer*, *opfer*, *schöpfen*, *tropfen*; *kampf*, *knopf*.

pf, from Germ. single *p*, became *f* after *l* and *r* in the ninth century, as *hëlfan*, *dorf*, *wërfan*, beside older *hëlpfan*, *dorpf*, *wërpfan*, NHG. *helfen*, *dorf*, *werfen*. In OHG. *harfa*, MHG. *harfe*, beside OHG. *harpfa*, MHG. *harpfe*; OHG. *scarf*, MHG. *scharf*, beside OHG. *scarpf*, MHG. *scharpf* there existed in prehistoric times forms with single and forms with double *p*. The forms which originally had single *p* have survived in NHG.

§ 252. From what has been said in § 251 it follows that all words beginning with *p* and not *pf* in NHG. must be either from Middle and Low German, Latin, the Romance languages, or from words which began with *p* beside *b* in OHG. (§ 218). The interchange between *p* and *b* initially and medially disappeared in Upper German in the twelfth century except that *p* frequently occurred initially throughout the Middle Ages in Bavarian.

Early loan-words with initial *p* were written *p* and *b* in MHG. and early NHG., as *pābes(t)*, *pate*, *pëch*, beside *bābes(t)* (Lat. *pāpa*), *bate* (Lat. *pater*), *bëch* (Lat. acc. *picem*); and similarly in *palme*, *pedell*, *pīn*, *pelz* (older *belliz*, Low Lat. *pellicia*), *përle*, *pilger*, *plage*, *predigen*, *prīs* (O.French *prīs*), *prisen*, *priester*, *prüeven*, *puppe*, &c. Such words now have *p* in NHG., due to the influence of Middle German where initial *p* and *b* were kept apart in sound.

Romance words borrowed in late MHG. and early NHG. were generally written with *p*, but also sometimes with *b*, they too always have *p* now, as *paar*, *palast*, *pan-toffel*, *papier*, *partei*, *passen*, *pause*, *pest*, *pille*, *plan*, *prinz*, *pulver*, &c.

Examples of Middle and Low German words, some of

which had **p** beside **b** in early NHG., but which now have always **p**, are: *pack*, *pacht* (the MHG. form is *pfaht*), *papagei*, *pegel*, *piepen*, *pinsel*, *platt*, *plump*, *plunder*, *pochen*, *pocke*, *prahlen*, &c.

b

§ 253. The chief points concerning the history of Germanic **b**, **b**, **bb** have already been given in § 218. Further examples of **b** in OHG. and NHG. are: OHG. *bein*, *bintan*, *bitten*; *blat*, *brief*, *bruoder*; *ëban*, *gëban*, *gilouben*, *habën*, *sibun*, *trīban*, *ubil*, *erbi*; *diob*, *grab*, *halb*, *kalb*, *liob* = NHG. *bein*, *binden*, *bitten*; *blatt*, *brief*, *bruder*; *eben*, *geben*, *glauben*, *haben*, *sieben*, *treiben*, *übel*, *erbe*; *dieb*, *grab*, *halb*, *kalb*, *lieb*. **b** has become **p** before **t** in *haupt* = MHG. *houbet*. NHG. has generalized the uninflected form in *alp*, gen. *alpes* (MHG. *alp*, gen. *albes*).

§ 254. A small number of words, chiefly loan-words, which originally had initial **b**, were written **p** or **b** in MHG. and early NHG. These now have **p**, as *panier* (MHG. *panier*, *banier*, French *bannière*); *pilz* (MHG. *bülz*, *bülez*, OHG. *buliz*, Lat. *bōlētus*); *pracht* (OHG. and MHG. *praht*, *braht*); *prägen* (MHG. *præchen*, *bræchen*, OHG. *brähhen*); *prasseln* (MHG. *prasteln*, *brasteln*, OHG. **brastalōn*); *polster* (MHG. *polster*, *bolster*, OHG. *bolstar*).

§ 255. By about the middle of the fifteenth century, initial **b** had become a lenis in some East Middle German dialects. This gave rise to **p** being written for **b**, just as it had done at a much earlier period in Upper German (§ 219). In Luther's early writings about forty words have **p**, which in his later works have **b**, as *peycht*, *prauchen*, *gepeet*, *peste*, *prechen*, *fruchtpar* = *beichte*, *brauchen*, *gebet*, *beste*, *brechen*, *fruchtbar*.

§ 256. Medial **mb** became **mm** in late MHG. and early

NHG. **mm** then came to be used finally by levelling out the medial form, as *amt* (MHG. **ammēt**, **ambet**); *dumm* (MHG. **tump**, gen. **tumbes**, **tummēs**); *lamm* (MHG. **lamp**, gen. **lambes**, **lammēs**); *eimer* (MHG. **eimber**, § 247); and similarly in *hummel*, *imme*, *kamm*, *klimmen*, *krumm*, *kummer*, *schlimm*, *stumm*, *stummel*, *trommel*, *um* (MHG. **umbe**), *wamme*, *zimmer*.

NOTE.—In early NHG. a **b(p)** was often written after **m**, as *eigentumb*, *kaumb*, *allesampt*, *frembdling*, *verdampften*, but all such forms have now disappeared.

§ 257. West Germanic **bj** became **bb** in Franconian and **pp** in Upper German (§ 218). This **bb** became **pp** in Upper Franconian during the OHG. period. NHG. has **pp** in all such words, e.g. *krippe*, *rippe*, *sippe*, *üppig*.

f

§ 258. Germanic **f** from Indg. **p** (§ 192) occurred initially, medially, and finally. In the oldest HG. it was bilabial like Gothic **f**, but during the OHG. period it became labiodental, as is shown by the change of **m** to **n** before **f** (§ 246). It was often written **v** initially, and generally medially between vowels, but always **f** finally. Already in OHG. it became a lenis initially, and medially between voiced sounds, but remained a fortis when final.

OHG. **f** from Germanic **p** (§ 217) only occurred medially between vowels and finally after vowels, later after **l** and **r** also (§ 251). It was a labiodental fortis and always written **f** (**ff**) in all periods of the language.

The two **f** sounds fell together at an early period when final. The distinction between the two sounds was still preserved in MHG. in the intervocalic position, as *hof*, *schif*, but gen. *hoves*, *schiffes*. In NHG. they have also fallen together when medial, as MHG. *nëve*, *zwïvel* = NHG. *neffe*, *zweifel*; MHG. *loufen*, *trëffen* = NHG.

laufen, treffen. *frevel* (MHG. *vrevel*) is now the only word in which Germanic *f* is written *v* medially. Initially *f* and *v* are used in NHG. without any definite rule. Examples of Germanic *f* in NHG. are: *vater, fallen, fahren, viel, feuer, fleisch, vogel, volk, von, freund, voll, fülle, vor, für, fürchten; neffe, teufel, zweifel; kraft, luft; brief, elf, hof, wolf*. Examples of OHG. *f* from older *p* are: *greifen, kaufen, laufen, rufen, schlafen, saufen, taufen, treffen, haufe; tief, schiff*.

§ 259. In Middle and Low Franconian *ft* became *ht* = *cht* in the MHG. period, as *haht, kraht, luht* = NHG. *haft, kraft, luft*. Several such words have got into the NHG. literary language at various times, as *berüchtigt* (related to NHG. *rufen*); *beschwichtigen* (related to MHG. *swiften*, to *silence*); *echt* (MHG. *ēhaft*, according to law); *gerücht* (MHG. *gerüefte*); *nichte* (MHG. *niftel*); *sacht* (MHG. *sanfte*, NHG. *sanft*); *schacht* beside NHG. *schaft*; *schlucht* beside early NHG. *schluft*; *sichten* (MHG. *siften*).

THE DENTALS.

t

§ 260. In the combinations *tr, ht, ft, st* Germanic *t* has remained in all periods of the HG. language, as OE. *tredan*, OHG. *trëtan*, NHG. *treten*; Goth. *báitrs*, OHG. *bittar*, NHG. *bitter* (§ 214); Goth. *wintrus*, OHG. *wintar*, NHG. *winter*; OE. *niht*, OHG. *naht*, NHG. *nacht*; OE. *dohtor*, OHG. *tohter*, NHG. *tochter*; OE. *cræft*, HG. *kraft*; OE. *gāst, stān*, NHG. *geist, stein*.

§ 261. Apart from the *t* in the above combinations, Germanic *t* was shifted in prehistoric OHG. to the affricata *tz*, initially, medially and finally after consonants (*l, m, n, r*), and when doubled (§ 217). In OHG. and early MHG. the affricata was really *tz* which became *ts* in late

MHG., although the writing **tz** has been retained in NHG. medially between and finally after short vowels. The affricata has remained in all periods of the HG. language. In OHG. it was written **z** initially, as OHG. **zīt** = NHG. *zeit*; medially and finally after long vowels, diphthongs, and consonants, as OHG. **krūzi**, **reizen**, **hërza**, **holz** = NHG. *kreuz*, *reizen*, *herz*, *holz*; medially after vowels when it ended a syllable, as **sazta**, pret. of **setzen**; and finally after vowels when it corresponded to Germanic **tt**, as OE. **sceatt**, OHG. **scaz**, *treasure* (§ 217).

Medially between short vowels, where it corresponded to Germanic **tt** or West Germanic **tt** from **tj** (§ 213), it was generally written **zz** in early OHG. and **tz** in late OHG., as OE. **sittan**, OHG. **sizzen**, **sitzen**; **scaz** but gen. **scazzes**, **scatzes**; OE. **settan**, OHG. **sezzen**, **setzen**.

§ 262. In MHG. **tz** was regularly used medially between short vowels, but **z** in all other positions. In NHG. **z** is used initially, medially and finally after diphthongs and consonants; and **tz** is used medially between and finally after short vowels.

Examples are: OHG. **zëhan**, **zīt**, **zwelif**, **zwifal** = NHG. *zehn*, *zeit*, *z zwölf*, *zweifel*; OHG. **beizen** (from **baitjan*), **krūzi**, **heizen**, (MHG. **kūze**, **kūz**), **reizen**, **weizi** = NHG. *beizen*, *kreuz*, *heizen*, *kauz*, *reizen*, *weizen*; OHG. **hërza**, **holz**, **kurz**, **ganz**, **lenzo**, **merzo**, **salz**, **smërza**, **smërzan**, **wurzala**, **sturzen**, **swarz** = NHG. *herz*, *holz*, *kurz*, *ganz*, *lenz*, *März*, *salz*, *schmerz*, *schmerzen*, *wurzel*, *stürzen*, *schwarz*; OHG. **hitza**, **katza**, **nutzi**, **setzen**, **sitzen**, **spitza** = NHG. *hitze*, *katze*, *nütze*, *setzen*, *sitzen*, *spitze*; OHG. **antlutzi**, **netzi**, **scaz**, **witzi** = NHG. *antlitz*, *netz*, *schatz*, *witz*.

§ 263. Germanic single **t** was shifted to the double voiceless spirant **zz** medially between and finally after vowels (§ 217). The **zz** was simplified in OHG. to **z** medially after long vowels, and finally (§ 223). The double

spirant and the single spirant were generally written **zz**, **z** in OHG. manuscripts, but **zss** in Isidor, written in the Rhenish Franconian dialect of the end of the eighth century. In OHG. and MHG. grammars the spirants, which were a kind of lisped **s**, are generally written **zz**, **z** in order to distinguish them from the affricatae, **zz**, **z**. In the fourteenth century the spirant began to be written **sz**, whence the NHG. writing **ß**. In NHG. it is written **ß** after long vowels, diphthongs, and finally, but **ff** after short vowels. In Latin characters it is written **ss** (formerly also **sz**) medially, and also finally when related inflected forms exist side by side, as **hass**, gen. **hasses**, but when no related inflected forms exist it is written **s**, as *aus*, *bis*, *das*, *was*, *es*, *gutes* (neut. nom.), &c.

The spirant **zz**, **z** has generally remained voiceless in all periods of the HG. language. The early MHG. good poets did not rhyme **laz**, **wizzen** with **las**, **missen**.

Final **z** became **s** and fell together with Germanic final **s** in the thirteenth century. The NHG. orthographical distinction between **ss** (= **z**) and **s** = Germanic **s** is due to Middle and Low German influence, as **hass** but **las** (*he read*).

Medial intervocalic **zz**, **z** became a voiceless fortis **s** during the fourteenth century, but it did not fall together with Germanic medial intervocalic **s**, which was a voiceless lenis (§ 293). Examples are: OHG. **bezziro**, **bīz(z)an**, **drīz(z)ug**, **ēzzan**, **gazzā**, **gruoz(z)en** (MHG. **grüezen**), **ginōz**, **hazzēn**, **lāz(z)an**, **mēzzan**, **rīz(z)an**, **wazzar**, **wizzan** = NHG. *besser*, *beissen*, *dreissig*, *essen*, *gasse*, *grüssen*, *genosse*, *hassen*, *lassen*, *messen*, *reißen*, *wasser*, *wissen*; OHG. **āz**, **bīz**, **faz**, **flīz**, **fuoz**, **haz**, **heiz**, **nuz**, **suoz(z)i** (MHG. **süeze**), **ūz**, **wīz** = NHG. *ass*, *biss*, *fass*, *fleiss*, *fuss*, *hass*, *heiss*, *nuss*, *süss*, *aus*, *weiss*.

§ 264. MHG. **z** is written with voiceless **s** in NHG. *feist* (MHG. *veizet*), *kürbis* (MHG. *kürbiz*), gen. *kürbisses*,

obst (MHG. *obez*), *Samstag* (MHG. *samztag*, OHG. *sambaztag*).

It has fallen together with Germanic *s* and has therefore become voiced medially between voiced sounds in NHG. *ameise* (MHG. *āmeize*), *binse* (MHG. *binez*), and similarly in *emsig*, *gemse*, *kreisen*, *verweisen*; *erbse*; *gesims* (MHG. *simez*), and similarly in *krebs*, *kreis*, *los* (Engl. *lot*), *sims*.

It has become *sch* after *r* (cp. § 294) in *hirsch* (MHG. *hirz*, OHG. *hiruz*).

d

§ 265. Germanic *d* remained in OHG. initially and medially in Middle and Rhenish Franconian (but South RFr. *t* medially). It became *t* in all positions in Upper German and East Franconian. And it became *t* finally in all dialects. *dd* was also shifted to *tt* in all dialects (§ 218, 2).

§ 266. Upper German and East Franconian *t* has remained in NHG. initially, as E.Fr. *tag*, *tāt*, *teilen*, *tiufal*, *tochter*, *tragan*, *trinkan* = NHG. *tag*, *tat*, *teilen*, *teufel*, *tochter*, *tragen*, *trinken*. But initial *tw* became *zw* in the fourteenth century, as OHG. *twërg*, late MHG. *zwërc*, NHG. *zwerg*.

NOTE.—In NHG. a certain number of words have initial *d*, which in MHG. had *t* or *d* beside *t*. Some of the words are of Latin or French origin, as *dauern* (Lat. *durare*), *dichten* (Lat. *dictare*), *drache* (Lat. *draco*), *dutzend* (MHG. *totzen*, Fr. *douzaine*), &c. The initial *d* in such cases is due to association with the original forms of the words. In the other words the *d* is due to the influence of Middle or Low German. The following is a fairly complete list: *damm*, *dampf*, *dauern*, to grieve, *dauern*, to last, *dichten*, *dill*, *docke*, *dohle*, *dolde*, *dotter*, *drache*, *ducken*, *duft*, *dumm*, *dunkel*, *dung*, *dunst*, *dutzend*; and in older NHG. *dinte* beside *tinte*.

§ 267. Upper German and East Franconian intervocalic

t, tt have remained in NHG., as OHG. **bētōn, biotan, boto, fater, knētan, muoter, rītan, watan**; **betti, bitten, mitti** = NHG. *beten, bieten, bote, vater, kneten, mutter, reiten, waten*; *bett, bitten, mitte*.

§ 268. Medial **nt** from Germanic **nd** became **nd** again in late OHG. and early MHG., and has remained as **nd** in NHG., as early OHG. **bintan, senten, gen. lantes** = late OHG., MHG., and NHG. *binden, senden, landes*; similarly in MHG. and NHG. *hundert, schande, sonder* (MHG. **sunder**), *standen, stunde, wenden, winden, wunder*, &c. MHG. **bant, gen. bandes**; **hant, pl. hende** = NHG. *band, bandes*; *hand, hände* with final **d** from the inflected forms; similarly in *blind, feind, freund, hund, land, rand, wind*, &c. But **nt** occurs in *hinten, hinter*, beside *hindern, munter, unten, unter*, probably due to the influence of the Bavarian dialect.

In NHG. the pret. of weak verbs whose stem ends in a nasal or **nd** are all new formations, as *räume* (MHG. **rūmde**), *diente* (MHG. **diende**), *nannte* (MHG. **nande**), *sandte* (MHG. **sande**), with **-te** after the analogy of preterites like *hörte, lebte, sagte*, where **-te** is regular. Similarly in *träumte, brannte, kannte, rannte*, &c. In like manner we have NHG. *siebente, neunte, zehnte* (MHG. **sibende, niunde, zēhende**) after the analogy of *fünfte, sechste*, &c.

§ 269. OHG. medial and final **lt, rt** from Germanic **ld, rd** have remained in all periods of the HG. language, as OHG. **alt, eltiron, haltan** = NHG. *alt, eltern, halten*; and similarly in *alter, gelten, gewalt, kalt, schelten, schulter, seltsam, spalten, walten*, &c.

ld remained unshifted in East Middle German, and a few words with **ld** have got into the literary language from this dialect, as OHG. **dulten, gelt, gen. geltes, milti** = NHG. *dulden, geld, geldes, mild*; and similarly in *geduld, geduldig, mulde, schild*.

OHG. **bart, fart, garto** = NHG. *bart, fahrt, garten*;

and similarly in *hart, geburt, gürtten, schwert, wort*. NHG. *herde* (MHG. *hërte*) is from Low German *herde*.

§ 270. Final *d* was shifted to *t* in all the HG. dialects. The *t* has remained in all periods of the language, as OHG. *blat, bluot, got* = NHG. *blatt, blut, gott*; and similarly in *brot* (older NHG. also *brod*), *haupt, tot*, &c. On forms like *blind, feind*, &c., see above. NHG. *kleinod* (MHG. *kleinōt*), *ried* (MHG. *riet*), *waid* (MHG. *weit*) are from Middle German, with *d* from the inflected forms. NHG. *niedlich* (MHG. adv. *nietliche*) is probably also from the same source.

§ 271. Final *dt* was often written for *t* in early NHG., which was sometimes transferred to the medial position, as *stadt: städte; todt: tödten; bundt: bundtes*. This *dt* is still used in *stadt*. In the preterites and past participles, *sandte, wandte, gesandt, bewandt, gewandt, verwandt*, and in derivatives from them, as *bewandtnis, gesandtschaft, gewandtheit, verwandtschaft*, &c., the *d* is due to the influence of the inf. *senden, wenden*.

§ 272. In NHG. an excrescent *t* has often been developed after *n*, and spirants, rarely after other consonants. It is often written *d* after *n*. Traces of the development of an excrescent *t* began to occur in thirteenth-century MHG., as *iergent, niergent, wilent, obezt, sust, saft*, beside *iergen, niergen, wilen, obez, sus, saf*. Examples in NHG. are: *allenthalben, dechant, eigentlich, flehentlich, freventlich, gelegentlich, geflissentlich, hoffentlich, namentlich, öffentlich, ordentlich, wesentlich, wissentlich, wöchentlich; dutzend, irgend, jemand, niemand, nirgend, weiland*; and in the pronominal forms *meine(n)t-, deine(n)t-, seine(n)t-, unsere(n)t-, eure(n)t-, ihre(n)t-halben, -wegen*, see § 248; in *entgegen* (MHG. *en-gegen*), *entzwei* (MHG. *en-zwei*) the *t* may be due to the prefix *ent-*; and in *gewohnt* (MHG. *gewon*) to the influence of past participles; *axt, damast, einst, jetzt* (MHG. *ieze*), *morast, obst, palast, papst (pabst)*,

sonst; *dickicht*, *dornicht*, *habicht*, *predigt*, *hüfte* (MHG. *huf*, pl. *hüffe*), *saft*; *anderthalb*, *sekt*; in *doppelt* the **t** is due to the influence of *verdoppelt*.

§ 273. A **d** has been developed between **n—l**, **n—r** in *quendel* (MHG. *quëndel* beside *quënel*), *spindel* (MHG. *spinel*), *fähdnrich*, *minder* (MHG. *minre*), cp. the same development in English *spindle*, *thunder*.

þ

§ 274. Germanic **þ** became **d** in Upper German about the middle of the eighth century, in Upper Franconian during the ninth century, in Middle Franconian and the North Middle German dialects in the tenth and eleventh centuries. So that by the end of the eleventh century **þ** had become **d** through the intermediate stage of **ð** in all the HG. dialects. This **d** has generally remained initially and medially in the NHG. literary language (see § 226). Examples are: OHG. *dah*, *decken*, *diutisc* (MHG. generally *tiutsch*), *diob* = NHG. *dach*, *decken*, *deutsch*, *dieb*; and similarly in *dulden*, *docht* (Luther *tocht*), *dorn*, *dorf*, *drei*, *dreschen*.

In a small number of words NHG. has initial **t** for OHG. **d**. This is due to the influence of the Upper German dialects, in some of which Germanic **þ** and **d** (older **ð**) fell together at an early date in the fortis **t**. The examples are: *tauen* (OHG. *douwen*), *tausend* (OHG. *dūsunt*), and similarly in *tölpel*, *ton*, *tosen*, *traben*, *trümmer*.

Initial **dw** became **tw** in late OHG. In the fourteenth century **tw** became **zw** in Upper German and **kw** (**qu**) in Middle German, as OHG. *dwërth*, *twërth*, late MHG. *zwërth*, *quërth*, NHG. *zwerch-* in compounds, as *zwerchfell*, *-pfeife*, *-sack*; related to NHG. *quer* (OHG. *twër*); OHG. *dwingan*, *twingan*, late MHG., NHG. *zwingen*.

In MHG. the def. art. **daz** was often weakened to **z** and then became attached enclitically to the preceding word,

especially to prepositions; and similarly with the dat. *dēme*, as *anz*, *inz*, *überz*, *ūfz*, *anme* (*ame*, *am*), *inme* (*ime*, *im*) = NHG. *ans*, *ins*, *übers*, *aufs*, *am*, *im*; also in NHG. *vors*, *durchs*, *beim*, *vom*, *zum*, *zur*.

Examples of the medial position are: OHG. *bruoder*, *bilidōn* (*bildōn*), *findan*, *wērdan* = NHG. *bruder*, *bilden*, *finden*, *werden*; and similarly in *beide*, *gestade*, *odem*, *runder*, *schneiden*; *wälde*, *bürde*, *erde*, *fordern*, *norden*, *vorder*, *würde*; *ander*, *künden*. *vierte* (OHG. *fiordo* = OE. *fēorða*) has *-te* from the analogy of *dritle*, *fünfte*.

§ 275. In MHG. the medial lenis (*d*) became a fortis *t*, when it became final (§ 226), as gen. *tōdes*, *vēldes*, *mundes*, *wērdes*, beside the nom. *tōt*, *death*; *vēlt*, *field*; *munt*, *mouth*; *wērt*, *worth*. NHG. has preserved this law in pronunciation, but has generalized the inflected stem form in the orthography except in *wert* which has generalized the nom. form. Other examples are: *rad*; *bald*, *bild*, *gold*, *held*, *schuld*, *wald*, *wild*; *geschwind*, *vormund*; *mord*.

THE GUTTURALS.

h

§ 276. The prim. Germanic spirant *χ* from Indg. *k* (§ 192) became an aspirate (written *h*) initially, and medially between vowels in prehistoric HG. (§ 205). *χw* became an aspirate medially between vowels in prehistoric HG., as OHG. *sēhan* = Goth. *saíhvan*, *to see*; and became *χ* finally, as pret. *sah* = Goth. *saht*; *nāh* = Goth. *nēht*, *near*. But the spirant remained in OHG. medially before consonants (*s*, *t*) and after consonants (*l*, *r*), when doubled (as OHG. *hlahhen* = Goth. *hlahjan*, *to laugh*), and when final.

§ 277. The aspirate *h* has remained initially before vowels in all periods of the HG. language, as OHG. *habēn*, *hant*, *helfan*, *heim*, *hērza*, *hören*, *horn* = NHG.

haben, hand, helfen, heim, herz, hören, horn. An inorganic **h** has been added by association with *heissen* in *heischen* (OHG. *eiskōn* = OE. *āscian*), which occasionally occurs with **h** in OHG. and MHG.

§ 278. Initial **h** disappeared before consonants (**l, n, r, w**) in the ninth century. Traces of the loss of **h** in this position occur so early as the second half of the eighth century, as *hlūt* (OE. *hlūd*), *hnuz* (OE. *hnutu*), *hring* (OE. *hring*), *hwaz* (OE. *hwæt*), later *lūt, nuz, ring, waz* = NHG. *laut, nuss, ring, was*; and similarly in *lahhen, louffan, neigen, reini, ros, rucki, wār, wēdar, wila, wēr* = NHG. *lachen, laufen, neigen, rein, ross, rücken, wo, weder, weile, wer*.

§ 279. Intervocalic **h** generally remained in OHG. The loss of **h** in this position, especially after short vowels, is common in eleventh-century Alemanic, as *trān, zēn* = *trahen, tears, zēhen, ten*. The loss of **h** and contraction of the two vowels regularly took place in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in Middle German, especially in the West and North Middle German dialects, as *hōst, māl, mān, stāl, sēn, &c.* = *hōhest, mahel, māhen, stahel, sēhen*. It became silent in all the dialects some time during the fourteenth century, although it has generally been retained in writing down to the present day. Examples are: *ähre* (MHG. *äher*, OHG. *ahir*), *nahe* (MHG. *nāhe*, OHG. *nāho*), *sehen* (MHG. *sēhen*, OHG. *sēhan*), *gedeihen* (MHG. *dīhen*, OHG. *dīhan*), and similarly in *erwähnen, fehde, vieh* (OHG. *fihu*), *gemahl, höhe, höher, leihen, mohn, stahl, zähre, zehn, ziehen, weihnachten* (MHG. *ze wīhen nahten*), &c. The **h** has sometimes disappeared in writing, as *beil* (OHG. *bīhal*), *feile* (OHG. *fīhala*), *ton* (MHG. *tāhe*), *träne* (MHG. pl. *trähene*).

§ 280. The retention of the **h** in the orthography in words to which it etymologically belonged served a useful purpose in late MHG. and early NHG., viz. as a sign

of vowel-length. After short vowels had been lengthened in open syllables, as in MHG. *sēhen*, *vihe*, *stahel* = NHG. *sehen*, *vieh*, *stahl* (§ 105), then on the analogy of such words the **h** began to be used in fourteenth-century Middle German as a sign of vowel-length in words which did not originally have it, irrespectively as to whether the vowel was originally long or short. This is the origin of the **h** after long vowels in the great majority of the cases in which it occurs. It is very common in Luther's works, and chiefly through the influence of his writings it has become extensively used in the NHG. literary language. Inorganic **h**, as a sign of vowel-length, is now used finally after long vowels; between a long vowel and a following liquid or nasal; in verbs which were monosyllabic in MHG. or became so in early NHG., and which are now dissyllabic (§ 181), as *froh* (MHG. *vrō*), *früh*, *kuh*; *bahn* (MHG. *bane*), *fahren* (MHG. *varn*), and similarly in *hehlen*, *lahm*, *mühle*, *nehmen*, *sohn*, *stehlen*, *wählen*, *wohl*, *zahl*, *zahn*, &c.; *huhn* (MHG. *huon*), *jahr* (MHG. *jār*), *kühl* (MHG. *küele*), and similarly in *lehren*, *mehr*, *ohr*, *sehr*, *wahr*, &c.; *blähen* (MHG. *blæjen*, *blæn*), *blühen* (MHG. *blüejen*, *blüen*), and similarly in *drehen*, *mähen*, *mühen*, *nähen*; *gehen* (MHG. *gēn*), *stehen* (MHG. *stēn*). The only exceptions to this rule are *draht* (MHG. *drāt*), *mahd* (MHG. *māt*, gen. *mādes*), and *naht* (MHG. *nāt*), which have been influenced by the verbs *drehen*, *mähen*, *nähen*.

§ 281. In the combination **χt** the spirant has remained in all periods of the HG. language (written **h** in OHG. and early MHG.; from the fourteenth century onwards it is written **ch**), as *acht* (OHG. *ahto*, MHG. *ahte*), *brachte* (OHG. *brāhta*, MHG. *brāhte*), and similarly in *dachte*, *fechten*, *fürchten*, *gesicht*, *licht*, *macht*, *nacht*, *recht*, *tochter*, &c.

§ 282. The combination **χs**, written **hs** in OHG. and early MHG., has become **ks** (written **chs** from the fourteenth century onwards) in NHG. It is difficult to

say at what period *χs* became *ks*. But the fact that it is written *hs* in OHG. and MHG. and *chs* in NHG. indicates that the change from the spirant to the explosive did not take place so early as in the other Germanic languages. Examples are: *achse* (OHG. *ahsa*, MHG. *ahse*), *achsel* (OHG. *ahsala*, MHG. *ahsel*), *dachs* (OHG. and MHG. *dahs*), and similarly in *flachs*, *fuchs*, *lachs*, *ochse*, *sechs*, *wachs*, *wachsen*, *wechsel*, &c.

χ disappeared before *s* + consonant in prehistoric HG., as OHG. *füst*, NHG. *faust*, from **fuŋχstiz* (§ 204); HG. *mist* = Goth. *maíhstus*; OHG. *zëswa* = Goth. *taíhswō*, *right hand*; OHG. *wahst*, *wahsmo*, beside *wast* (Goth. *wahstus*), *wasmo*, *growth*, were new formations after the analogy of *wahsan*; similarly OHG. *sëhsto* for **sësto*, *sixth* after the analogy of *sëhs*.

§ 283. The medial spirant disappeared after liquids in early NHG. It disappeared in Middle German during the twelfth century and then later in Upper German. Examples are: *befehlen* (MHG. *befêlhen*), *föhre* (MHG. *vorhe*), *forelle* (MHG. *vorhele*), *mähre* (MHG. *merhe*), *möhre* (MHG. *mörhe*), *scheel* (MHG. *schêlch*, gen. *schêlhes*), *schielen* (MHG. *schilhen*), *welsch* (MHG. *welhisch*).

§ 284. When final, the spirant *χ* (written *h* in early OHG. and *ch* in late OHG. and MHG.) remained in OHG. and MHG., and thus fell together with the *ch* from Germanic *k* (§ 288). In MHG. intervocalic *h* (§ 226) interchanged with final *ch*, as *sëhen*, pret. *sach*; gen. *schuohes*, *vlôhes*, *hôhes*, beside nom. *schuoch*, *vlôch*, *hôch*. In NHG. the words which formerly had inflected forms with *h* beside uninflected forms with *ch* generally have the *h* finally by levelling out the inflected stem forms. Examples are pret. *befahl* (MHG. *bevalch*), *sah* (MHG. *sach*), *schuh* (MHG. *schuoch*), *floh* (MHG. *vlôch*), and similarly in *nah*, *reh*, *rauh*, but *rauch-werk* (MHG. *rûch-*

wërc). We still have *hoch* beside *höher*, *schmach* beside *schmähen*, *furche* (MHG. *vurch*, pl. *vürhe*). Whereas the **ch** has remained in words which have no inflected forms, as *doch*, *durch*, *nach*, *noch*, &c.

k

§ 285. We have already seen (§ 217) that Germanic **k** underwent a twofold development in OHG. according to its position in the word. Initially, medially and finally after consonants (**l**, **n**, **r**), and when doubled, it remained except in High Alemanic where it became the affricata **kx** (written **ch**, **cch**). The further development of High Alemanic **kx** does not concern the history of literary NHG. and is therefore omitted. Medially and finally after vowels single **k** was shifted to the double spirant **xx** (written **hh**, **ch**, **h**) in all the OHG. dialects.

§ 286. In OHG. **k** was generally written **c** except before **e**, **i**, where it was always written **k**. In MHG. it was generally written **k** at the beginning and **c** at the end of a syllable, as *korn*; *dankes*, *senken*, beside *danc*, pret. *sancte*. Double **kk** was generally written **ck** (often also **cc**) in OHG. In MHG. and NHG. it is written **ck**. In OHG. and MHG. the **ck** was simplified to **c**, when final (§ 223), but in NHG. it is always written **ck**.

OHG. **k** has generally remained in all periods of the language, as OHG. *cunig*, *kalb*, *korn*, *kuo*, *klëbën*, *kleini*, *knëtan*, *knio*, *kräen*, *kruog*, *quëllan* = NHG. *könig*, *kalb*, *korn*, *kuh*, *kleben*, *klein*, *kneten*, *knie*, *krähen*, *krug*, *quellen*.

OHG. *mëlkan*, *scalc*, *denken*, *sinkan*, *trinkan*, *starc*, *wërc*, *wirken* = NHG. *melken*, *schalk*, *denken*, *sinken*, *trinken*, *stark*, *werk*, *wirken*.

Examples of general Germanic and West Germanic **kk** (§§ 202, 213-4) in HG. are: OHG. *boc*, *lëccôn*, *loc*, *lockôn*, *stoc*; *ackar*, *blicken*, *decken*, *drucken*, *wecken*

= NHG. *bock, lecken, locke, locken, stock; acker, blicken, decken, drücken, wecken.*

§ 287. Germanic *sk* became *sx* (written *sc, sk*, rarely *sg*) in late OHG. *sx* then became *sch* (= English *sh*) in the twelfth century. It is generally written *sch* in MHG. (often also *sh* in manuscripts), but the spelling *sc, sk* existed beside it down to the sixteenth century. Examples are: OHG. *skadōn, scamēn, skeidan, skepfen, scōni, skioban, scriban, sculdīg* = NHG. *schaden, schämen, scheiden, schöpfen, schön, schieben, schreiben, schuldig*. OHG. *skal, skolan* became *sol (sal), solan* = NHG. *soll, sollen*, in the eleventh century, cp. Northern Middle English *sal* for *schal*. OHG. *aska, drēskan, misken, waskan, wunsken* = NHG. *asche, dreschen, mischen, waschen, wünschen*. OHG. *diutisk, fisc, fleisk, irdisc, mennisco* = NHG. *deutsch, fisch, fleisch, irdisch, mensch*.

§ 288. The primitive HG. double spirant *xx* was written *hh* in the oldest period of the language, but in the ninth century it began to be written *ch* and in the tenth century the *ch* became general, and has remained down to the present day, except that it is no longer a double consonant. The double spirant *hh* was simplified to *h* finally (§ 223); it was written *ch* in late OHG. and early MHG. as in NHG. In the final position it thus fell together with OHG. *ch* from prim. Germanic final *x* = Indg. *k* (§ 284). Examples are: early OHG. *brēhhan, mahhōn, suohhen* = MHG. *brēchen, machen, suochen*, NHG. *brechen, machen, suchen*; and similarly in NHG. *gebrauchen, reich* (OHG. *rīhhi*), *sprechen, stechen, wachen, woche, weichen, zeichen*, &c. It has become *g* in NHG. *prägen* (MHG. *præchen*, beside *bræchen*, OHG. *brāhhen*). NHG. *geruhen* (MHG. *geruochen*) is a new formation from *ruhe*.

OHG. *blēh, büh, buoh, ih, gilih, miluh, ouh, rouh, solih, storah, welih, pret. brah, sprah, stah* = NHG. *blech, bauch, buch, ich, gleich, milch, auch, rauch, solch*,

storch, welch, brach, sprach, stach. *ch* has disappeared in *allmählich* (older NHG. *allmächlich*, MHG. *almechlich*).

§ 289. NHG. *sarg* (OHG. *saruh*, MHG. *sarch*) and *werg* (OHG. *wërah*, MHG. *wërch*) are new formations made on analogy with words like *berg* (pronounced *berch*), *tag* (= *tach*). *sarch* and *wërch* first became written *sarg* and *werg*, and then the *g* was taken over into the inflected stem forms and pronounced like the *g* in *berges*, *tages*, &c. In the same manner some words containing the suffixes *-ich*, *-lich*, now have *-ig*, *-lig*; as *essig* (MHG. *ezzich*), *fittich* (MHG. *vittich*), *rettich* (MHG. *retich*), beside *fittig*, *rettig*; *ad(e)lig* (Luther *adelich*), *billig* (Luther *billich*), *ek(e)lig*, *häk(e)lig*, *völlig*, *untadelig*, *unzählig*.

g

§ 290. The chief points concerning the history of Germanic *g*, *gg* have already been given in § 218. For the history of Germanic *ng* in HG. see § 250. Further examples of single *g* in OHG. and NHG. are: OHG. *gast*, *gëban*, *glas*, *glat*, *got*, *graban*, *gras*, *guot* = NHG. *gast*, *geben*, *glas*, *glatt*, *gott*, *graben*, *gras*, *gut*.

OHG. *biogan*, *fliogan*, *fogal*, *frägēn*, *gidigan*, *gizogan*, *hagal*, *klagōn*, *nagal*, *neigen*, *sagēn*, *swigēn*, *tragan*, *zeigōn* = NHG. *biegen*, *fliegen*, *vogel*, *fragen*, *gediegen*, *gezogen*, *hagel*, *klagen*, *nagel*, *neigen*, *sagen*, *schweigen*, *tragen*, *zeigen*.

OHG. *bërgan*, *bisorgēn*, *firlougnen*, *folgēn*, *morgan* = NHG. *bergen*, *besorgen*, *verläugnen*, *folgen*, *morgen*. OHG. *menigī*, NHG. *menge* (§ 250).

In MHG. the medial combinations *igi*, *ege* (*äge*) were contracted to *i*, *ei*. Several of the contracted forms have survived in NHG., as *beichte* (MHG. *bīhte*, older *bigihte*), *eidechse* (MHG. *egedēhsa*), *elster* (MHG. *eilster*, older *ägelster*), *getreide* (MHG. *getregede*), *maid* (MHG. gen. dat. sing. *meide*, older *mägede*), *nelke* (MHG. *neilkīn*,

older *negelkīn*), *verteidigen* (late MHG. *verteidingen*, older *vertägedingen*).

§ 291. West Germanic *ʒj* became *gg* in Franconian and *kk* (also written *cc*, *ck*) in Upper German (§ 218), as OHG. *mugga*, *mucca*, MHG. *mügge*, *mücke*, *midge*. NHG. has *ck* in all such words, as *brücke*, *ecke*, *hecke*, *lücke*, *mücke*, *rücken*, *weck*. *flügge* is due to Low German influence. Words like *dogge*, *flagge*, *roggen* (early NHG. *rocken*) are of Low German origin. Here the *gg* does not go back to *ʒj*.

§ 292. Examples of final *g* are: OHG. *lag*, *mag*, *tag*; *einag*, *ēwig*, *ginādīg*, *heilag*, *honag*, *sālig*, *sculdīg* = NHG. *lag*, *mag*, *tag*; *einig*, *ewig*, *gnādīg*, *heilig*, *honig*, *selig*, *schuldīg*. OHG. and NHG. *balg*, *arg*, *berg*, *burg*, &c.

NHG. *mark*, gen. *markes* (MHG. *marc*, gen. *marges*), has levelled out the uninflected form. In NHG. *manch*, older NHG. *manech* (OHG. *manag*, *manig*), beside *mannigfach*, *-faltig*, the *-ig* (pronounced *-ich*) became written (i)*ch*, (e)*ch*, and was then extended to the inflected forms. Cp. the opposite kind of levelling in § 284.

THE SIBILANT *s*.

§ 293. Germanic *s* was in OHG. a voiceless spirant in all positions like the *s* in English *sit*. On the history of Germanic *sk* in HG. see § 287.

In MHG. *s* became a lenis medially between vowels and probably also initially before vowels. In NHG. it became a voiced spirant initially before vowels and medially between voiced sounds at the same time the lenes *b*, *d*, *g* became voiced explosives (§ 226). In these positions the *s* became voiced at an early period in Low German.

Examples are: *sagen*, *segen*, *sehen*, *singen*, *sohn*; *amsel* (OHG. *amsala*), *besen*, *lesen*, *linse*, *lösen*, *riese*, &c. Beside *erbosen* (MHG. *erbosen*), there formerly existed *erbossen*

on the false assumption that the word originally contained **z** (cp. § 263).

§ 294. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries **s** became **sh** medially after **r** and initially before **p**, **t** (written **s**), **l**, **m**, **n**, **w** (written **sch**). Traces of this sound-change occur so early as the end of the thirteenth century, as *barsch* (MHG. *bars*), *birschen* (MHG. *birsen*), and similarly in *bursche*, *dorsche*, *herrschen*, *kirsche*, *knirschen*, &c. Through the influence of the orthography, the **s** sound has been restored before a following **t**, as *borste*, *bürste*, *durst*, *garstig*, *gerste*, *horst*, *karst*, *wurst*. All these words were formerly pronounced with **sch** just as they still are in many NHG. dialects. The **s** sound has also been restored in *börse* (the same word as *bursche*), *ferse*, *hirse*.

OHG. *slāfan*, *smēlzan*, *snēcke*, *sprēhhan*, *stein*, *swēster* = NHG. *schlafen*, *schmelzen*, *schnecke*, *sprechen*, *stein*, *schwester*; and similarly in *schlingen*, *schmerz*, *schnell*, *schneiden*, *spielen*, *springen*, *stehlen*, *sterben*, *stechen*, *schwarz*, *schweigen*, &c.

§ 295. It has remained voiceless in all periods of the language, when doubled; when preceded or followed by a voiceless consonant; and when final, as *küssen* (OHG. *kussen*), *presse*, *missen*; *angst* (OHG. *angust*), *gast*, *fuchs*, *wachsen*; *gans*, *gras*, *hals*, *haus*, *ich las*, *maus*, &c. When final **s** came to stand between voiced sounds it became voiced, as *gänse*, *häuser*, &c.

§ 296. **s** has become **sch** in *gischt*, older NHG. *gäscht* (MHG. *gäst*, *jäst*), *gischen*, older NHG. *gäschen* (MHG. *gäschen*, *jäsen*), *groschen* (MHG. *grosse*, *gros*), *harnisch* (MHG. *harnesch*, beside *harnas*). **s** has disappeared by assimilation in *sechzehn* (OHG. *sēhszēhan*), *sechzig* (OHG. *sēhszug*).

CHAPTER XIII

WORD-FORMATION

§ 297. By far the greater part of the word-forming elements, used in the parent language, were no longer felt as such in the oldest period of the German language, and still less in MHG. and NHG. In this chapter we shall chiefly confine ourselves to those elements which play an important part in the modern language, such as prefixes and suffixes.

NOUNS.

§ 298. Nouns may be divided into simple, derivative, and compound. Examples of simple nouns are:—*aal, baum, buch, burg, dachs, dorf, eiche, fell, fisch, fuchs, fuss, gras, hahn, haus, hund, joch, kalb, kind, korn, lamm, land, lohn, luft, meer, nacht, name, ochs, ohr, see, sitte, sohn, tag, volk, wahl, weg, weib, wolf, zeit*. Many simple nouns are related to the various classes of strong verbs (§§ 490-519), as *steig, streit; griff, kniff, riss, ritt, schlich, schmiss, schnitt, trieb*.

fliege; bote, flug, fluss, lüge, nutz, schub, schuss, stoss, trug, her-zog, zug.

binde, hilfe, spinne; band, drang, schwang, trank, zwang; bund, fund, hülfe, schwund, sprung, trunk, wurf.

breche, scheere, stich; dieb-stahl; sprache; bruch, spruch. sitz; gabe, mass.

grab, schlag, stand; fuhre, grube, wuchs.

fall, fang, gang, hang, lauf, rat, ruf, schlaf.

§ 299. Derivative nouns are formed in a great variety of ways:—

1. From adjectives, as *breite, dicke, fülle, güte, hitze, höhe, kälte, länge, menge, nähe, richte, röte, schärfe, schnelle, schwäche, schwere, stärke, tiefe, weite*. See § 372.

2. By means of various suffixes which are no longer felt as such, as *achsel, ärmel, hagel, handel, nagel, sessel, vogel, zügel*; *regen, segen, wagen*; *donner, futter, lager*; *wasser, winter*; *bruder, mutter, schwester, tochter, vater*. On the ending of the infinitive of verbs, see § 486.

3. From verbs by means of a dental suffix, as *andacht, ankunft, bucht, fahrt, flucht, geburt, kluft, kunst, last, macht, pflicht, saat, schlacht, schrift, tat, tracht, trift, zucht*.

4. From verbs with inseparable particles, as *bedarf, befehl, beginn, begriff, behelf, beleg, bescheid, beschlag, besitz, bestand, besuch, beweis, bezug*; *empfang, entgelt*; *erlass, ertrag, erwerb*; *gebiss, gebrauch, gefecht, geflecht, gehalt, genuss, geruch, gesang, geschrei, gesicht, gewalt, gewinn*; *verband, verbleib, verbot, verdruss, verkauf, verlust, vermögen, versand, vertrag, verweis*.

5. By means of various prefixes: **aber-** (the same as NHG. *aber*), as *aberglaube, abername, abersaat, aberwandel, aberwitz*. **after-** (the same as English *after*), as *afterblatt, afterkiel, afterkind, afterkritik, afterlehre, aftermiete, aftermuse, afterpacht, afterrede*. **ant-** (OHG. *ant-*, see *ent-* § 333), as *antlitz, antwort*. **bei-** (same as the preposition *bei*, OHG. *bī*), as *beifall, beilage, beispiel, beistand, beitrag*. **erz-** (OHG. *erzi-*, MHG. *erze-*, Gr. *ἀρχι-*, Engl. *arch-*), as *erzamt, erzbischof, erzdieb, erzdummkopf, erzfeind, erzherzog, erzkämmerer, erzschem*. **für-** (OHG. *furi*, see *ver-* § 337), as *fürbitte, fürsorge*. **ge-** (OHG. *gi-*, used in forming collective nouns, see § 363), as *gebirge, gebüsch, gedränge, gefäss, gefilde, geflügel, gehölz, gelächter, gelände, geläut, gemisch, gepäck, gepräge, gerüst, geschirr, geschwister, gespräch, gestein, gewässer, gewürm*. **miss-** (OHG. *missi-*, MHG. *misse-*), as *missbehagen, missbrauch, missernte, missetat, missgunst, missklang, misslaut, misswachs*. **un-** (same as Eng. *un-*), as *unart, unehre, unfall, unfug, unglück, unkosten, unmasse, unrecht, unruhe, unschuld, untat, unzahl*. **ur-** (OHG. *ur*, Goth. *us*, *out*, see *er-* § 334), as *urahn*,

urbild, urfreude, urkraft, urlaub, ursache, urschrift, ursprung, urteil, urvater, urzeit.

NOUN SUFFIXES.

§ 300. **-chen** (Middle Low German **-kīn** = **k** + **īn** where each element is a dim. suffix, MHG. (Middle German dialect) **-chin**, **-chen**), as *bisschen, kästchen, mädchen, männchen, söhnchen, vögelchen*. **-chen** is not used when the simplex ends in a guttural spirant, as *bächlein*, not **bächchen*. Forms like *büchelchen, mädelchen, wägelchen* have double dim. suffixes.

§ 301. **-ei** (MHG. **-īe**, of Old French origin. It was originally confined to French loan-words and then spread to native words, especially to nomina agentis ending in **-er**, whence the new suffix, MHG. **-erīe**, NHG. **-erei** which is often added to verbs. In like manner from forms like *bettelei, heuchelei*, the **-elei** has sometimes been extended to words which did not originally contain **el**, as *liebeleī*), as *abtei, partei, wüstenei*; *bäckerei, fischerei, jägerei*; *betrügerei, fahrerei, lauferei, ruferei, schreiberei, spielerēi*; *gaukelei, schmeichelei*. In *abgöttereī, kinderei* the **-ei** has been added to the plural.

§ 302. **-er** (OHG. **-āri**, MHG. **-ære**, **-er**, Goth. **-areis**, OE. **-ere**, Lat. **-ārius**, originally used to form nomina agentis from other nouns, and then later from verbs also, as OHG. *fiscāri, fischer*; *rihtāri, richter*), as *eigentümer, fleischer, förster, handwerker, schäfer, schüler*; *bäcker, erzieher, finder, führer, haushalter, läufer, lehrer, leser, maler, nachfolger, nehmer, prediger, räuber, sänger, schneider, spinner, vorsteher, weber*. After the analogy of the nomina agentis a large number of nomina instrumenti have been formed from verbs in NHG., as *brenner* (of a lamp), *drücker* (of a latch), *eisbrecher, fernsprecher, klopfen, leuchter, schieber, überzieher, wecker*, &c.

The **-er** attached to the names of places and countries is

of the same origin as the *-er* in the *nomina agentis*, as *Berliner, Kölner, Leipziger, Münchener, Schweizer*. When used before other nouns, as *Berliner tageblatt, Münchener bier*, they are old gen. plurals used adjectively.

From *nomina agentis*, formed from nouns ending in *-el, -en*, have been extracted the NHG. suffixes *-ler* and *-ner*. Regular forms are : *bettler* (OHG. *bētalāri*), *fiedler, händler, sattler, stammler* (OHG. *stamalāri*), *vogler* (OHG. *foga-lāri*) ; *gärtner* (OHG. *gartināri*, beside *gartāri*), *hafner* (OHG. *hafanāri*), *wagner* (OHG. *waganāri*). Then after the analogy of such words, have been formed *gegenfüßler, künstler, nachzügler, tischler, volksparteiler, zünftler* ; *bildner* (MHG. *bildenære*, beside *bildære*), *flaschner, glöckner, kellner, kirchner, pförtner, redner, schuldnr* (already in OHG. *sculdināri*), *söldner*, &c.

§ 303. *-heit* (OHG. and MHG. *-heit*, OE. *-hād*, NE. *-hood*. Also used as an independent noun : Goth. *haidus*, *manner, way*, OE. *hād*, OHG. *heit*, *grade, rank*, MHG. *heit, kind, manner, quality*), used to form abstract nouns from adjectives, past participles, and occasionally from nouns, as *dreiheit, dummheit, ebenheit, einheit, flachheit, freiheit, gesundheit, grossheit, hoheit, krankheit, leerheit, schlaueit, schönheit, schwachheit, sicherheit, trockenheit, wahrheit, weisheit* ; *berühmtheit, betroffenheit, ergebnheit, gebundenheit, gelehrtheit, gewandtheit, verlegenheit, verschwiegenheit* ; *christenheit, gottheit, kindheit*.

From abstract nouns formed from adjectives ending in OHG. *-ag, -ig*, MHG. *-ec, -ic* (as OHG. *heilagheit*, MHG. *heilecheit, heilekeit* ; OHG. *sāligheit*, MHG. *sælecheit, sælekeit*), was extracted in MHG. the new suffix *-keit*, which is now used especially in forming nouns from adjectives ending in *-bar, -er, -lich, -sam*, and *-ig*, as *brauchbarkeit, dankbarkeit, fruchtbarkeit, furchtbarkeit, lesbarkeit, trinkbarkeit* ; *bitterkeit, heiterkeit, sauberkeit, tapferkeit* ; *ängstlichkeit, ehrlichkeit, herzlichkeit, sterblichkeit, wunderlich-*

keit; arbeitsamkeit, aufmerksamkeit, biegsamkeit, duldsamkeit, grausamkeit, sparsamkeit; dürftigkeit, einigkeit, ewigkeit, fähigkeit, fertigkeit, mässigkeit, nachlässigkeit, seligkeit, üppigkeit.

From nouns formed from adjectives ending in **-ig** there has been extracted a new suffix **-igkeit** in NHG., which is now used in forming nouns from adjectives, especially those ending in **-los**, as *achtlosigkeit, gottlosigkeit, lieblosigkeit, treulosigkeit, &c.; dichtigkeit, feuchtigkeit, härtigkeit, kleinigkeit, neuigkeit, süssigkeit, zaghaftigkeit.*

§ 304. **-icht** (OHG. **-ahi**, MHG. **-ehe, -ihe**, also **-ech, -ich** with loss of final **-e**, NHG. **-icht** with excrescent **-t**), as *binsicht, dickicht, dornicht, kehricht, röhricht, spülicht, tannicht.*

§ 305. **-in** (OHG. **-in**, acc. **-inna**, MHG. **-in, (-în), -inne**, West Germanic **-innjō**, used to form the feminine from nouns denoting male beings, see § 370), as *Berlinerin, Engländerin, erbin, feindin, freundin, fürstin, gattin, gefährtin, gemahlin, gräfin, heldin, herrin, herzogin, hündin, königin, löwin, näherin, sängerin, schwägerin, wirtin, wölfin.*

§ 306. **-ing** (OHG. **-ing**, English **-ing**), as OHG. **hāring**, MHG. **hærinc, hering**; OHG. **arming**, *poor man*, formed from **arm**; **ediling, edeling**, formed from **edili, edel**. From nouns like **edeling** there has been extracted the suffix **-ling**, which is very common especially in forming nouns denoting persons, as *ankömmling, blendling, dümmling, feigling, flüchtling, fremdling, frömmeling, gründling, hauptling, lehrling, liebbling, neuling, säugling, sonderling, täufeling, zögling; däumling, frühling, säuerling, sprössling.*

§ 307. **-lein** (OHG., Franconian **-ilīn**, Upper German **-ilī**. **-ilīn** = **il** + **īn** where each element is a dim. suffix. MHG. **-ilī** beside **-ilīn**, later **-(e)līn**. **-li** is still used in the Modern Upper German dialects to form diminutives), as *fräulein, häuslein, kindlein, knäblein, lämmlein, mädlein, schifflein, söhnlein, vöglein* (older *vögellein*).

§ 308. **-nis** (OHG. **-nissi**, MHG. **-nisse**, OE. **-nes**, NE. **-ness**), as *ärgerⁿis, bedrängⁿis, bedürfⁿis, begräbⁿis, bekenntⁿis, besorgⁿis, betrübⁿis, bewandⁿis, bündⁿis, empfängⁿis, ereignⁿis, erkenntⁿis, erlaubⁿis, ersparⁿis, erträngⁿis, finsternⁿis, gedächⁿis, gefängⁿis, geheimⁿis, gleichⁿis, hemmⁿis, hinderⁿis, verderbⁿis, verhältnⁿis, vermächⁿis, versäumⁿis, verständⁿis, verzeichⁿis, wagnⁿis, wildⁿis, zeugnⁿis.*

§ 309. **-sal, -sel** (OHG. **-isal**, MHG. **-sel** beside **-sal** with secondary accent), as *drangsal, irrsal, labsal, mühsal, rinnsal, schicksal, trübsal, wirrsal*; *anhängsel, füllsel, einschiebsel, geschreibsel, gemengsel, hecksel, rätsel, überbleibsel.*

§ 310. **-schaft** (OHG. **-scaf**, late OHG. **-scaft**, MHG. **-schaft**, related to Goth. **ga-skapjan**, *to create, shape*), as *bekanntschaft, botschaft, brüderschaft, dienerschaft, eigenschaft, feindschaft, freundschaft, herrschaft, gemeinschaft, gesellschaft, kundschaft, landschaft, meisterschaft, nachbarschaft, verwandtschaft, wirtschaft, wissenschaft.*

§ 311. **-tum** (OHG. and MHG. **-tuom**, OE. **-dōm**, NE. **-dom**, also used as an independent word, Goth. **dōms**, OE. **dōm**, *judgment*, OHG. **tuom**, *state, condition*), as *altertum, besittum, christentum, eigentum, heiligtum, herzogtum, irrtum, kaisertum, königtum, mönchtum, priestertum, reichtum, rittertum, volkstum.*

§ 312. **-ung** (OHG. **-unga**, MHG. **-unge**, used especially to form abstract nouns from verbs), as *achtung, bekehrung, bemerkung, beschädigung, beschirmung, besinnung, besorgung, besserung, betrachtung, bildung, brandung, dämmerung, einbildung, einleitung, festung, geltung, genesung, handlung, heilung, hoffnung, ladung, mündung, nahrung, regierung, reinigung, richtung, scheidung, sendung, sitzung, stallung, verfolgung, versammlung, verständigung, versuchung, vorstellung, wanderung, warnung, wirkung, zeichnung, zeitung.*

COMPOUND NOUNS.

§ 313. In compound nouns formed by composition the second element is always a noun, but the first element may be a noun, adjective, verb, or a particle. When the first element of the compound was a noun, it was not so often inflected in the older period of the language as it is now. Examples are: *buchbinder*, *dienstmann*, *hauptmann*, *haushaltung*, *herberge* (OHG. *heri-bërga*, lit. *army shelter*), *jammerschade*, *milchmädchen*, *seemann*, *wasserträger*, *zahn-schmerz*; *feinschmecker*, *grossvater*, *halbbruder*, *hochmut*, *hochschule*, *leichtsinn*, *mehrzahl*, *wehmut*; *bindfaden*, *fuhrmann*, *giesskanne*, *raubvogel*, *schlafzimmer*, *schreibfeder*, *sterbezimmer*, *zugtier*; *wohltat*; *ablass*, *abteil*, *aufwand*, *einnahme*, *nebenzimmer*, *oberlippe*, *überzieher*, *umfang*, *untergang*, *unterrock*, *vorderarm*, *vorteil*, *vorwurf*.

§ 314. After the analogy of compounds in which the first element is a masculine or neuter noun with the gen. singular ending in *-(e)s*, the *s* has been extended to a large number of compounds in which the first element is a feminine noun. Analogical formations of this kind do not occur in MHG., but from the sixteenth century onwards they became more and more common. Regular forms are: *bundesrat*, *feuersnot*, *friedensbrecher*, *gerichtsamt*, *königssohn*, *lebensart*, *sonntagskleid*, *volksrecht*, &c. Then after the analogy of such nouns, there have been formed: *auskunftsmittel*, *frauenperson*, *freiheitsliebe*, *geburtstag*, *heiratsgeschenk*, *hochzeitsfest*, *liebesbrief*, *mietsleute*, *regierungsrat*, *zeitungsjunge*, &c.

Other examples of compound nouns in which the first element is inflected are: *augenlied*, *erdensohn*, *frauenfuss*, *fürstenschloss*, *gerstenmehl*, *hahnenfeder*, *knabenzeit*, *löwenfell*, *Märzenveilchen*, *mondenschein*, *riesengeduld*, *schwanenlied*, *sonnenschirm*, *tintenfass*; *eierhändler*, *gänsebraten*, *kinder-erziehung*.

§ 315. The second element of compounds is sometimes an old dat. plural, especially in proper names, which is no longer felt as such, as *Königshofen*, *Schaffhausen*, *Unterwalden*; *weihnachten*.

ADJECTIVES.

§ 316. Adjectives, like nouns, may be conveniently divided into three classes: simple, derivative, and compound. Examples of simple adjectives are: *alt*, *blind*, *drei*, *fest*, *frei*, *froh*, *grau*, *gut*, *hart*, *klug*, *kühl*, *lahm*, *lang*, *leer*, *lieb*, *nass*, *neu*, *rot*, *sanft*, *scharf*, *schwach*, *schwer*, *stark*, *tief*, *voll*, *wahr*, *warm*, *zahn*, *zehn*.

§ 317. Derivative adjectives often have the same inseparable prefixes as nouns (§ 299, 5), as *erzdumm*, *erzfaul*; *unfreundlich*, *unhöflich*, *unschön*; *uralt*, *urdeutsch*; *bedenklich*, *begreiflich*, *behülflich*, *bekanntlich*, *beliebig*, *bequem*, *betriebsam*, *beweglich*; *erfindsam*, *erfreulich*, *ergiebig*, *erreichbar*, *erträglich*; *empfindlich*, *enthaltssam*; *gebüßlich*, *gedeihlich*, *gefällig*, *geflügelt*, *gelaunt*; *verderblich*, *vergeblich*, *vernünftig*, *verschämt*; *zerbrechlich*.

ADJECTIVAL SUFFIXES.

§ 318. *-bar* (OHG. *-bāri*, MHG. *-bære*, OE. *-bære*, in *lēohtbære*, *bright*, lit. *light-bearing*, Lat. *-fer*, in *lūcifer*, *light-bringing*; related to OHG. *bēran*, *to bear*), as *ausführbar*, *bestreitbar*, *brauchbar*, *dankbar*, *denkbar*, *erreichbar*, *findbar*, *fühlbar*, *gangbar*, *haftbar*, *haltbar*, *hörbar*, *kostbar*, *lesbar*, *sichtbar*, *sonderbar*, *strafbar*, *streitbar*, *tragbar*, *trinkbar*, *vernehmbar*; *dienstbar*, *offenbar*.

§ 319. *-en* (OHG. *-īn*, MHG. *-en*, Goth. *-ein*, OE. *-en*, prim. Germanic *-īnaz* = Lat. *-īnus*), as *eichen*, *irden*, *seiden*, &c. Forms like *golden* (OHG. *guldīn*, NHG. *gülden*), *wollen* (OHG. *wullīn*) have been formed direct from *gold* and *wolle* in NHG.

From adjectives formed from noun-forms ending in *-er*

(mostly plurals in **-er**) there has been extracted the new suffix **-ern**. Regular forms are: *gläsern, hölzern, hörnern; kupfern, ledern, silbern*. After the analogy of such nouns have been formed: *beinern, blechern, bleiern, flächsern, stählern, steinern, tönern, &c.*

§ 320. **-haft** (OHG. and MHG. **-haft**. Also used as an independent word, OHG. *haft*, *vinctus, captivus*; *a captive*, OE. *hæft*, *one seized or taken*; *a captive*, cp. Goth. *hafts*, *joined*, Lat. *captus*, *a taking, seizing*, related to Goth. *hafjan*, OE. *hebban*, OHG. *heffen*, *to heave, raise*), as *boshaft, dauerhaft, ernsthafte, fabelhaft, fehlerhaft, frevelhaft, gewissenhaft, lehrhaft, mangelhaft, meisterhaft, nahrhaft, schülerhaft, tadelhaft, vorteilhaft, wohnhaft, wurzelhaft, zweifelhaft*. To some adjectives ending in **-haft** the suffix **-ig** has been added, as *leibhaftig, standhaftig, teilhaftig, wahrhaftig*.

§ 321. **-icht** (OHG. **-aht, -oht**, beside **-ahti, -ohti** (jastems), MHG. **-eht** (= NHG. **-icht**), beside **-oht**, OE. **-iht** as in *stāniht*, *stony*), as *holzlicht, nebellicht, steinicht, töricht, &c.*

§ 322. **-ig** (OHG. **-ag, -īg**, MHG. **-ec, -ic**, Goth. **-ag, -eig**, OE. **-ig**, NE. **-y**), as *abhängig, allmächtig, ausgiebig, beliebig, bissig, blutig, dortig, dürftig, einig, ergiebig, fähig, fertig, gebürtig, gefällig, gläubig, gnädig, grimmig, gültig, gütig, häufig, kräftig, lebendig, lästig, lustig, mühselig, mutig, nachlässig, nötig, prächtig, richtig, schuldig, sonnig, streitig, sündig, trübselig, unartig, unzählig, vernünftig, völlig, weitläufig, wichtig, zeitig, zornig*.

§ 323. **-isch** (OHG. **-isc, -isk**, MHG. **-isch, -esch**, Goth. **-isk**, OE. **-isc**, NE. **-ish**), as *ausländisch, dichterisch, deutsch* (OHG. *diutisc, popularis*, formed from *diot, people*, cp. OE. *þēodisc, popularis*; *language*), as *englisch, erfinderisch, hübsch* (MHG. *hübesch*; related to *hof*), *irdisch, kindisch, malerisch, närrisch, räuberisch, regnerisch* (with **er** from words like *malerisch*), *schelmisch, städtisch, träumerisch, verschwen-derisch*.

§ 324. **-lich** (OHG. **-līch**, MHG. **-līch**, **-lich**, Goth. **-leik**, OE. **-lic**, NE. **-ly**. Also preserved as an independent word in Goth. **ga-leiks**, OHG. **gi-līch**, NHG. **gleich**, OE. **gelic**, NE. **like**), as *bedenklich*, *begreiflich*, *behülflich*, *bekanntlich*, *beweglich*, *deutlich*, *dringlich*, *folgich*, *fraglich*, *freundlich*, *freundschaftlich*, *einheitlich*, *empfindlich*, *erfreulich*, *erklärlich*, *erträglich*, *gänzlich*, *gebürrlich*, *gedeihlich*, *gefährlich*, *gelegentlich*, *glaublich*, *glücklich*, *heimlich*, *hoffentlich*, *jährlich*, *jämmerlich*, *käuflich*, *kränklich*, *männlich*, *möglich*, *nachbarlich*, *reinlich*, *schädlich*, *schriftlich*, *schwerlich*, *sterblich*, *täglich*, *trefflich*, *tunlich*, *üblich*, *väterlich*, *verderblich*, *vergeblich*, *verständlich*, *verträglich*, *wahrlich*, *weiblich*, *weisslich*, *weltlich*, *wissenschaftlich*, *wörtlich*, *wunderlich*, *zärtlich*, *zerbrechlich*, *ziemlich*.

§ 325. **-los** (OHG. and MHG. **-lōs**, Goth. **-láus**, OE. **-lēas**, NE. **-less**. Also used as an independent word, Goth. **láus**, *empty*, OE. **lēas**, *devoid of*, OHG. **lōs**, NHG. **los**), as *achtlos*, *arglos*, *ehrlos*, *endlos*, *gottlos*, *grundlos*, *harmlos*, *herzlos*, *hoffnungslos*, *kinderlos*, *leblo*s, *selbstlos*, *tadellos*, *vaterlos*, *zahnlos*.

§ 326. **-sam** (OHG. and MHG. **-sam**, Goth. **-sam** (only in *lustu-sams*, *longed for*, *much desired*), OE. **-sum**. Also used as an independent word, Goth. **sama**, *same*, OHG. **sama**, *in like manner*), as *achtsam*, *arbeitsam*, *betriebsam*, *biegsam*, *einsam*, *enthalt*sam, *erfind*sam, *furcht*sam, *gehorsam*, *gemeinsam*, *genügsam*, *gleichsam*, *grausam*, *langsam*, *mühsam*, *ratsam*, *sorgsam*, *sparsam*, *strebsam*, *wirksam*, *wundersam*. *seltsam* (OHG. **sēltsāni**, MHG. **sēltsæne**) has been remodelled upon the analogy of the adjectives in **-sam**.

§ 327. Suffixes, which were no longer felt as such in OHG., are omitted, e. g. the **-el**, **-en**, and **-er** in adjectives like *dunkel*, *edel*, *eitel*; *eigen*, *trocken*; *bitter*, *lauter*, *munter*, *tapfer*. On the suffixes in the present and past participles see §§ 487-8.

COMPOUND ADJECTIVES.

§ 328. In compound adjectives formed by composition the second element is always an adjective, but the first element may be a noun, adjective, verb, or a particle. Examples are: *blitzschnell*, *blutarm*, *blutjung*, *einwandfrei*, *feindselig* (formed after the analogy of *leutselig*), *fruchttragend*, *gesetzmässig*, *glücklich*, *grundschlecht*, *handbreit*, *hausbacken*, *jammervoll*, *leutselig*, *liebeleer*, *masshaltend*, *pflichtmässig*, *rauchfrei*, *regelmässig*, *steinalt*, *teilnehmend*, *todkrank*, *verhältnismässig*; *geisteskrank*, *inhaltsreich*, *kriegsmässig*, *lesenswert*, *segensreich*, *sehenswert*, *staatsklug*, *vorwurfsvoll*, *volksmässig*; *gewohnheitsmässig*, *hoffnungsvoll*, *ordnungsgemäss*, *vorschriftmässig*, see § 314; *augenfällig*, *jahrelang*, *kinderreich*, *riesengross*, *wochenlang*; *allgemein*, *blondhaarig*, *eigenartig*, *einstimmig*, *freigebig*, *graugelb*, *grossartig*, *hellfarbig*, *hochwichtig*, *kaltblütig*, *kurzsichtig*, *langarmig*, *mehrdeutig*, *vielfach*, *vierfüssig*, *vierzehn*, *vollblütig*, *zweispännig*; *barmherzig*, *merkwürdig*; *durchsichtig*, *nachlässig*, *überlang*, *übernächtigt*.

VERBS.

§ 329. From a morphological point of view, all verbs may be divided into two great classes: simple and compound. Simple verbs are subdivided into primary and denominative verbs. To the former subdivision belong the strong verbs and a certain number of weak verbs, and to the latter the denominative verbs. The simple primary verbs are here left out of further consideration, as their formation belongs to the wider field of comparative grammar. Compound verbs are of various kinds: (1) those formed from simple verbs by means of separable or inseparable particles, (2) those formed from nouns and adjectives with verbal prefixes or suffixes. Separable

verbs call for no further comment, because they merely consist of the juxtaposition of two independent words.

§ 330. Simple verbs are formed direct from nouns and adjectives, as *arbeiten* (OHG. *arbeitōn*, formed from *arbeit*), and similarly *ackern*, *bahnen*, *beten*, *bilden*, *blättern*, *duften*, *ebnen*, *erben*, *färben*, *fesseln*, *flüchten*, *füttern*, *hassen*, *köpfen*, *loben*, *meistern*, *nageln*, *nennen*, *regnen*, *satteln*, *tadeln*; *antworten*, *brandmarken*, *frohlocken*, *frühstücken*, *handhaben*, *heiraten*, *herbergen*, *kundschaften*, *langweilen*, *lustwandeln*, *mutmassen*, *ratschlagen*, *übernachten*, *urteilen*, *wetteifern*, *wirtschaften*; *fälschen*, *füllen*, *heilen*, *kühlen*, *kürzen*, *leeren*, *lösen*, *nässen*, *öffnen*, *röten*, *schwächen*, *täuben*, *töten*, *trüben*, *zähmen*; *nötigen*, *rechtfertigen*, &c.

§ 331. Compound verbs formed from simple verbs, nouns, and adjectives. For the history of the development of meanings of the inseparable verbal prefixes, the student should consult a good German dictionary such as Paul's *Deutsches Wörterbuch*.

§ 332. *be-* (OHG. *bi-*, the unstressed form of the preposition *bī* = NHG. *bei*), as *befinden* (OHG. *bifindan*), and similarly *begiessen*, *begraben*, *begreifen*, *behalten*, *beschreiben*, *besitzen*, *bestehen*, *beziehen*, *bezingen*, *bleiben* (OHG. *bili-ban*, MHG. *beliben*, beside *bliben*. The vowel in *be-* began to disappear before *l* already in MHG.); *bedecken*, *bekennen*, *beweinen*, *bewohnen*.

beantworten, *befeinden*, *beflügeln*, *befreunden*, *begeistern*, *beglücken*, *begrenzen*, *beherbergen*, *beobachten*, *beschatten*, *beschirmen*, *besegnen*, *besiegen*, *bestürmen*, *betonen*, *beurlauben*, *bevölkern*, *bezüffern*.

be-engen, *befeuchten*, *befreien*, *bereichern*, *bestärken*; *be-endigen*, *be-erdigen*, *befähigen*, *befestigen*, *befriedigen*, *beglaubigen*, *bekräftigen*, *bekreuzigen*, *belästigen*, *benachrichtigen*, *bereinigen*, *berichtigen*, *beruhigen*, *besänftigen*, *beschäftigen*, *beschönigen*, *beteiligen*, *bevollmächtigen*.

§ 333. *ent-* (OHG. *int-*, MHG. *ent-*, the unstressed form

of OHG. **ant-** (preserved in NHG. *antlitz*, *antwort*), Goth. **and-**, Gr. *ἀντί*, *against*, Lat. *ante*, *before*), as *empfangen*, *empfehlen*, *empfinden* (see § 247), *entbieten*, *entbinden*, *entfallen*, *entfliehen*, *entgehen*, *entgelten*, *enthalten*, *entlassen*, *entnehmen*, *entschliessen*, *entsprechen*, *entspringen*, *entstehen*, *entziehen*; *entblühen*, *entdecken*, *entfalten*, *enthüllen*, *entsagen*, *entstellen*, *enttäuschen*.

entblättern, *entehren*, *enterben*, *entfärben*, *entfesseln*, *entgeistern*, *entkräften*, *entmannen*, *entnerven*, *entsiegeln*, *entvölkern*, *entwaffnen*.

entfernen, *entfremden*, *entheiligen*, *entledigen*, *entleeren*, *entmutigen*, *entschädigen*, *entschuldigen*, *entwürdigen*.

NOTE.—In a few words NHG. **ent-** corresponds to OHG. **in-**, Goth. **in-**, the unstressed form of the preposition **in**, as *entbrennen*, *entflammen*, *entschlafen*, *entschlummern*, *entzünden*.

§ 334. **er-** (OHG. **ar-**, **ir-**, MHG. **er-**, the unstressed form of the preposition **ur** (preserved in NHG. *urlaub*, *urteil*), Goth. **us**, *out*), as *erbrechen*, *erfechten*, *erfrieren*, *ergießen*, *ergreifen*, *erklimmen*, *erleiden*, *erliegen*, *erlöschen*, *ermessen*, *erraten*, *ersaufen*, *erscheinen*, *erschlagen*, *erschleichen*, *erschliessen*, *erschrecken*, *ersehen*, *ersinnen*, *ersitzen*, *erstehen*, *ersteigen*, *ersterben*, *ertragen*, *ertrinken*, *erwachsen*, *erwerben*, *erziehen*; *erbauen*, *erbeben*, *erblühen*, *erdenken*, *erdulden*, *erforschen*, *erfragen*, *erhoffen*, *erholen*, *erhören*, *erjagen*, *erleben*, *errichten*, *ersetzen*, *erstaunen*, *ersuchen*, *ertränken*, *erwarten*, *erwirken*, *erzeigen*.

erarbeiten, *ereilen*, *erglänzen*, *erhandeln*, *erkämpfen*, *ermorden*, *erteilen*, *erträumen*, *erzielen*.

erbittern, *erblinden*, *erfrischen*, *erfüllen*, *ergänzen*, *ergrauen*, *erheitern*, *erhöhen*, *erinnern*, *erkalten*, *erkälten*, *erklären*, *erkranken*, *erlahmen*, *erledigen*, *ermatten*, *ermöglichen*, *ermüden*, *ermutigen*, *erneuen*, *eröffnen*, *erquicken*, *erröten*, *erschaffen*, *erschweren*, *erstarken*, *erstarren*, *erübrigen*, *erwarmen*.

§ 335. **ge-** (OHG. **gi-**, MHG. **ge-**, the unstressed form of

OHG. *ga-*, Goth. *ga-*. It is originally a preposition meaning 'together', which already in prim. Germanic was no longer used as an independent word): *gebeten, gebären, gebrechen, gedeihen, gefallen, gefrieren, gelingen, genesen, geniessen, geraten, gerinnen, geschehen, gestehen, gewinnen; gebrauchen, gebühren, gedenken, gehorchen, gehören, geleiten, gereichen, gestatten, getrauen, gewähren, gewarten, gewöhnen, geziemen, glauben* (OHG. *gilouben*. The vowel in *ge-* began to disappear before *l, n, r* already in MHG., as *glouben, gnāde, grade*, beside *gelouben, genāde, gerade*).

Getrösten, gesegnen, gereuen, geloben, gelangen, &c.

NOTE.—On the *ge-* in past participles, see § 488.

§ 336. *miss-* (OHG. *missi-*, MHG. *misse-*, Goth. *missa-*, English *mis-*, the same as the OHG. adjective *missi*, different): *missfallen, misslingen, missraten, missverstehen; missbehagen, missbrauchen, missdeuten, missgönnen, misskennen, missleiten, misstrauen.*

missachten, missglücken, misshandeln, misstönen; missbilligen.

§ 337. *ver-* (oldest OHG. *for-*, *fur-*, later *far-*, *fir-*, late OHG. and MHG. *ver-*, Goth. *faúr-*, the unstressed form of OHG. *furi* (= NHG. *für*), *fora*, Goth. *faúr, faúra*, before. Already in the oldest OHG. three distinct, but etymologically connected particles, fell together, viz. three particles corresponding to Gothic *faír-*, *faúr-*, and *fra-* preserved in NHG. *fracht* and *fressen*): *verbergen, verbinden, verbleiben, verderben, vergehen, vergessen, vergraben, verhehlen, verhelfen, verlassen, verlaufen, verleihen, vermeiden, vernehmen, verschieben, verschiessen, verschlafen, verschlingen, verschweigen, versehen, versinken, versitzen, versprechen, verstehen, vertreten, verwachsen; verbauen, verblühen, verbrauchen, verbrennen, verdauen, verdienen, verfolgen, verjagen, verkleben, verlachen, verleiten, verreden, versenken, verstecken, versuchen, verwenden, verwirken, verzehren.*

verabschieden, verankern, veranstalten, verarbeiten, verausgaben, verbluten, verfeinden, vergolden, vergöttern, verhageln, verhungern, verklagen, verkleiden, vernageln, verschleiern, versiegeln, versilbern, versorgen, verspielen, versteinern, verursachen, verwerten, verzahnen, verzaubern, verzinsen.

verallgemeinern, veralten, verähnlichen, veranschaulichen, verarmen, verbessern, verbittern, verbreiten, verbreitern, verdächtigen, verdeutlichen, veredeln, vereinigen, vereiteln, verewigen, verfeinern, verfertigen, verfinstern, vergegenwärtigen, vergrössern, verheilen, verheimlichen, verherrlichen, verjüngern, verkleinern, verkündigen, vernachlässigen, veröden, veröffentlichen, verschönern, verständigen, verunreinigen, verwelken, verwirklichen.

§ 338. *voll-* (MHG. *volle-*, *vol-*, OHG. adverb *follo*, *folle*, completely, entirely, formed from the adj. *fol*, full): *vollbringen* (OHG. *folle-bringan*), *vollziehen*; *vollenden*, *vollführen*, *vollstrecken*.

§ 339. *zer-* (OHG. *zar-*, *zir-*, MHG. *zer-*, the unstressed form of OHG. *zur-* (in compound nouns), Goth. *tus-*, *asunder*, *apart*, and Gr. *δυσ-*, *hard*, *bad*, *ill*, as in *δυσ-μαθής*, *hard to learn*, *δυσ-μενής*, *ill-minded*, *hostile*): *zerbersten*, *zerbrechen*, *zerfallen*, *zerfliessen*, *zerfressen*, *zergehen*, *zerlassen*, *zerreiben*, *zerreißen*, *zerrinnen*, *zerschlagen*, *zerschmeissen*, *zerschneiden*, *zerspringen*, *zerstechen*, *zerstossen*, *zertreten*, *zerwerfen*; *zerhauen*, *zerkauen*, *zerklopfen*, *zerknicken*, *zerkratzen*, *zerlegen*, *zernagen*, *zerpflücken*, *zersetzen*, *zerspalten*, *zersprengen*, *zerstören*, *zerstreuen*, *zertrennen*.

zerbröckeln, *zerfleischen*, *zergliedern*, *zermalmen*, *zerpulvern*, *zerstückeln*, *zerteilen*, *zertrümmern*.

VERBAL SUFFIXES.

§ 340. From verbs formed from noun and adjectival forms ending in *-el* and *-er*, the *-el* and *-er* have often been extended to other denominative verbs which did not originally have these suffixes. Many of the verbs belonging

here have the force of frequentatives. Regular forms are : *adeln, fesseln, flügeln, satteln, schnäbeln, stacheln, stammeln, tadeln, trommeln, veredeln, vermitteln, wechseln, wurzeln*. After the analogy of such verbs have been formed : *älteln, anheimeln, ausmergeln, betteln* (also OHG. *bētalōn*, formed from *bēta*, *entreaty, request*, and related to NHG. *beten, bitten*), *fächeln, fälteln, frösteln, funkeln, häkeln, häufeln, hüsteln, kränkeln, kritzeln, künsteln, lächeln, liebäugeln, lispeln, näseln, rütteln, spötteln, streicheln, tänzeln, züngeln, &c.*

Regular forms are : *ackern, buttern, feuern, futtern, füttern, hämmern, hungern, lästern, läutern, schimmern, schlummern, schneiden* ; from the plural of nouns : *blättern, begeistern, bevölkern, erörtern, gliedern, rädern* ; from the comparative of adjectives : *ärgern, bessern, erweitern, mindern, nähern, säubern, säuern, verschönern, vergewissern, vergrössern*. After the analogy of such verbs have been formed : *altern* (older *alten*), *blinkern, erschüttern, flimmern, folgern, glitzern, plätschern, räuchern, schlittern, schlüpfen, stottern, zögern, zwinkern, &c.*

§ 341. *-ieren*. The suffix *-ier-* was originally confined to verbs borrowed from Old French in the MHG. period (OFr. *-ier*, Mod. Fr. *-er*). At a later period it was extended to many other foreign words, as *regieren, spazieren, studieren, &c.* ; and still later, especially in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, to a large number of native words, as *buchstabieren, gastieren, glasieren, halbieren, hausieren, hofieren, schattieren, stolzieren, verschimpfieren, &c.*

§ 342. *-igen* (OHG. *-agōn, -īgōn*, MHG. *-egen*). Verbs of this type were originally formed from adjectives ending in *-ag, -īg*, as OHG. *heilagōn*, MHG. *heilegen, heiligen* ; *sculdigōn*, MHG. *schuldegen, (be)schuldigen*. After the analogy of such verbs a large number of verbs containing this suffix were formed in MHG., and the number has been considerably increased in NHG. Regular forms are : *bändiggen, begünstigen, begütigen, bekräftigen, belästigen,*

bemächtigen, ermutigen, nötigen, reinigen, schädigen, &c. Examples of analogical formation are : *be-erdigen, befehligen, befestigen, beglaubigen, benachrichtigen, besänftigen, beschäftigen, bescheinigen, beschönigen, beseitigen, beschwichtigen, bewerkstelligen, endigen, genehmigen, huldigen, peinigen, sättigen, vereidigen, &c.*

§ 343. **-zen** (OHG. **-azzen, -azen**, later **-ezen**, MHG. **-zen** ; Goth. **-atjan**, OE. **-ettan**, used to form intensive verbs). Examples are : *ächzen, duzen, grunzen, jauchzen, krächzen, lechzen, schluchzen, schmatzen, schmalzen, &c.* In a few words the **z** has become **s** or **sch**, as *drücksen, hopsen, klecksen, mucksen, plumpsen* ; *mantschen, quietschen, rutschen*. NHG. *seufzen* (MHG. **siuften** beside **siufzen**) has been remodelled on the analogy of the verbs in **-zen**.

ACCIDENCE

CHAPTER XIV

NOUNS.

§ 344. In OHG. as in the oldest periods of the other Germanic languages, nouns are divided into two great classes, according as the stem originally ended in a vowel or a consonant, cp. the similar division of nouns in Sanskrit, Latin, and Greek. Nouns whose stems originally ended in a vowel belong to the vocalic or so-called strong declension. Those whose stems originally ended in *-n* belong to the weak declension. All other consonantal stems will be put together under the general heading, 'Minor Declensions.'

Owing to the loss of final short vowels, and consonants in prehistoric HG. (§§ 161-2), several different kinds of stems regularly fell together in the nom. and acc. singular, so that from the point of view of OHG., the nom. and acc. singular end in consonants, and we are only able to classify such stems either by starting out from primitive Germanic, or from the plural, or from a comparison with the other old Germanic languages; thus the OHG. nom. and acc. singular of *tag*, *wort*, *gast*, *hant*, *lamb* correspond to prim. Germanic **ḍagaz*, **ḍagan*, older *-os*, *-om*; **wurđan*, older *-om*; **gastiz*, **gastin*, older *-is*, *-im*; **χanduz* (Goth. *handus*), **χandun* (Goth. *handu*); **lambaz*, older *-os* (cp. Lat. *genus*, gen. *generis*). The original distinction between the nom. and acc. of masculine and feminine nouns had disappeared in the oldest period of

the German language except in the **n-**, and the fem. **jō-**stems. In like manner the original case endings of the **n-**stems, with the exception of the nom. singular and gen. plural, had also disappeared in the oldest German, so that the element which originally formed part of the stem came to be regarded as a case ending (§§ 161-2), cp. the similar process in the plural of the neuter **-os-** stems. In order to understand the historical development of the declension of German nouns, it will be necessary for the student to master the chapter on vowels of unaccented syllables, the paragraphs dealing with the medial and final positions of the consonants in MHG. (§ 226), and likewise the paragraphs concerning the lengthening of short vowels which were in open syllables in MHG. (§§ 105-113). Where in MHG. there was an interchange between medial lenis and final fortis, NHG. has usually generalized the medial form of the consonant; and where in MHG. the stem vowel was now in a closed and now in an open syllable (as nom. **hof**, gen. **hoves**) NHG. has usually generalized the vowel of the open syllable.

§ 345. OHG. nouns have two numbers: singular and plural; three genders: masculine, feminine, and neuter, as in OE. from which the gender of nouns in OHG. does not materially differ; five cases, Nominative, Accusative, Genitive, Dative, and Instrumental. The instrumental only occurs in the **a-**, and masc. **i-**stems. The vocative is like the nominative. Traces of an old locative occur in what is called the uninflected dat. singular of **hūs**, *house*, and **dorf**, *village* (§ 393).

§ 346. Many nouns have changed gender in passing from MHG. to NHG. In some nouns the change in gender began already in MHG., owing to the weakening of the OHG. endings to **e**, whereby the nom. singular of many nouns of different genders fell together, as OHG. **hirti** (masc.), **betti** (neut.), **gēba** (fem.), **namo** (masc.),

zunga (fem.), **hërza** (neut.) = MHG. **hirte**, **bette**, **gëbe**, **name**, **zunge**, **hërze**. In some nouns the change of gender was caused by the cases of the plural of different stems falling together in NHG., e.g. the plural of the MHG. neut. nouns **molken**, **wäfen**, **wolken**, &c. fell together with the fem. plural of **n**-stems, then the former came to be regarded as fem. plurals, from which a new fem. singular has been formed, as NHG. *molke*, *waffe*, *wolke*, &c.

Examples of nouns, which have changed their gender, are: NHG. masc. but MHG. fem.: *frevel*, *horst*, *scheitel*, *verlust*, *witz*; NHG. masc. but MHG. masc. and fem.: *floh*, *rahmen*; NHG. masc. but MHG. neut.: *ablass*, *gau*, *honig*, *speer*; NHG. masc. but MHG. masc. and neut.: *abgott*, *jammer*, *lohn*, *mord*, *trank*, *zauber*, *zwerge*; NHG. masc. but MHG. masc., fem., and neut.: *schoß* (lap).

NHG. fem. but MHG. masc.: *albe*, *binse*, *esche*, *fahne*, *gräte*, *grille*, *heuschrecke*, *hirse*, *hornisse*, *imme*, *kohle*, *locke*, *metze*, *niere*, *schläfe*, *schlange*, *schnecke*, *schneepfe*, *scholle*, *spule*, *strähle*, *träne*, *wade*, *waise*, *woge*, *zähre*; *angel*, *angst*, *art*, *drangsal*, *otter*, *sitte*; NHG. fem. but MHG. masc. and fem.: *ameise*, *blume*, *dille*, *kresse*, *ratte*, *rebe*, *rose*, *saite*, *sonne*, *traube*; *bank*, *distel*, *furt*, *gewalt*, *heirat*, *list*, *luft*, *lust*; NHG. fem. but MHG. masc. and neut.: *matratze*, *spur*; NHG. fem. but MHG. neut.: *ähre*, *armbrust*, *grütze*, *kitze*, *marke*, *molke*, *unbilde*, *waffe*, *wange*, *wolke*, *zicke*; *milz*, *spreu*; NHG. fem. but MHG. neut. and fem.: *armut*, *beere*, *ecke*, *rippe*, *wette*; *heimat*, *jagd*, *mahd*; abstract nouns in **-ung(e)**, as **manunge** (NHG. *mahnung*), and in **-nisse**, as **erkantnisse** (NHG. *erkenntnis*), fluctuated between the fem. and neut. in MHG.

NHG. neut. but MHG. masc.: *schrot*, *segel*, *zeug*; NHG. neut. but MHG. neut. and masc.: *lob*; NHG. neut. but MHG. fem.: *abenteuer*, *gewissen*, *gift*, *mass*; NHG. neut. but MHG. fem. and neut.: *gefängnis*, *panier*, *revier*.

A. THE VOCALIC OR STRONG DECLENSION.

I. THE **a**-DECLENSION.

§ 347. The **a**-declension comprises masculine and neuter nouns only, and corresponds to the Latin and Greek **o**-declension (Gr. masc. *-os*, neut. *-ov*, Lat. *-us*, *-um*), for which reason it is sometimes called the **o**-declension. The **a**-declension is divided into pure **a**-stems, **ja**-stems, and **wa**-stems.

§ 348.

a. PURE **a**-STEMS.*Masculine.*

SING.	OHG.	MHG.	NHG.
Nom. Acc.	tag	tac	tag
Gen.	tages	tages	tag(e)s
Dat.	tage	tage	tag(e)
Instr.	tagu, (-o)		
PLUR.			
Nom. Acc.	taga	tage	tage
Gen.	tago	tage	tage
Dat.	tagum, (-om)	tagen	tagen

The prim. Germanic forms were : sing. nom. **dagaz*, acc. **ðagan*, gen. **ðagesa* (with pronominal ending, § 450), dat. **ðagai*, instr. **ðagō* ; plur. nom. **ðagōz* (cp. Goth. *dagōs*), acc. **ðaganz* (cp. Goth. *dagans*), gen. **ðagōn* (cp. Gr. *θεῶν*, *of gods*), dat. **ðagomiz*. Through the loss of the endings the nom. and acc. sing. regularly fell together in OHG. In OHG. the original nom. pl. is also used for the accusative. The instr. singular disappeared in the tenth century ; it has been preserved in the NHG. isolated form *heute* from **hiu tagu*, *on this day*. The *-m* in the dat. plural ending regularly became *-n* in the ninth century, as also in all the other declensions. Nouns ending in the derivative suffixes *-el*, *-en*, *-er* dropped the inflexional *e* in the singular and plural already in MHG. (§ 171). On

the loss of the *e* in the NHG. gen. and dat. singular see §§ 177-8.

§ 349. Most of the nouns, which originally belonged to this class, have passed over into other declensions in the plural. Like *tag* are declined: *arm, bord, buckel, druck* (pl. *drucke* and *drücke* with differentiated meanings), *gurt, hag, halm, hund, krach, mast, onkel, pardel, pfad, pudel, ruf, schacht, schuh, thron*, and a few others. *aal, lachs, luchs*, and *pfuhl* belonged in MHG. to the *i*-declension (§ 373), pl. MHG. *æle, lehse, lühse, pfüele*. Examples of nouns with palatal stem vowels are: *berg, dieb, esel, finger, fisch, himmel, ring, sinn, stein, weg*, &c.

§ 350. Most of the nouns which originally belonged to this class have passed over into the *i*-declension in the plural. The masc. *a*- and *i*-stems were declined alike in the singular already in the prehistoric period of the language. And after the OHG. plural endings of the two classes had been weakened to *-e, -en* in MHG. the only distinction between them was the presence or absence of umlaut in the plural. The *a*-stems began to be inflected like *i*-stems in the plural already in MHG. in order to distinguish the two numbers. NHG. examples are: *acker, arzt, baum, faden, frosch, fuchs, gang, haven, hals, hammel, hammer, hof* (cp. the old dat. pl. in proper names, as *Königshofen*), *koch, lohn, mantel, ofen, sattel, schnabel, stuhl, traum, vogel, wagen* (pl. *wägen* beside *wagen*), *wolf*, &c.

§ 351. A small number of nouns form their plural after the analogy of the *-os*-stems (§ 398). Some of these are due to the fact that their genders fluctuated in OHG. and MHG. Such masculine plurals rarely occurred in MHG., but they became more frequent in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. NHG. examples are: *abgott* (OHG. masc. and neut.), *geist* (with pl. after the analogy of *gespenster*), *gott, leib, vormund* (an old *n*-stem), *wald* (an old *u*-stem, cp. old dat. pl. in *Unterwalden*), *wurm* (an old

i-stem), *mann* (an old consonant stem), *dorn* (an old u-stem; pl. *dörner* beside *dorne*, *dornen*), *ort* (pl. *orte*, older NHG. *örte* beside *örter*); nouns ending in *-tum* (OHG. masc. and neut.), whence NHG. *irrtum*, *reichtum*, beside neut. *herzogtum*, *königtum*, &c.

§ 352. *bolzen* (MHG. *bolz*) became weak and then levelled out the *-n* into the nominative, from which a new genitive in *-s* has been formed, and similarly *leisten* (MHG. *leist*), *nacken* (MHG. *nac*), *nutzen* (cp. the old form in *eigennutz*, *zu nutz und frommen*); the new weak nom. has been preserved in *gedanke* (MHG. *gedanc*), *haufe* (MHG. *houf*) beside *haufen*. See § 384.

§ 353. *held* (MHG. *helt*, gen. *heldes*) has become weak in the oblique cases, and similarly *christ* (MHG. *kristen*, gen. *kristenes*). MHG. *heiden*, *raben*, gen. *heidenes*, *rabenes*, came to be regarded as weak in the plural, from which a new weak singular *heide*, *rabe* has been formed.

§ 354. *felsen* (MHG. *velse*) with *n* from the oblique cases, beside *fels* (MHG. *vels*) with weak forms from MHG. *velse*; *bauer* (MHG. *gebūr* beside *gebüre*), whence the NHG. strong and weak forms in the singular, but weak in the plural, and similarly *nachbar* (MHG. *nächgebūr*). See § 382.

§ 355. *muskel*, *pantoffel*, *staat*, *stachel*, *stiefel* (pl. also *stiefel*), *untertan*, and *zins* have become weak in the plural.

§ 356.

Neuter.

SING.	OHG.	MHG.	NHG.
Nom.Acc.	wort	wort	wort
Gen.	wortes	wortes	wort(e)s
Dat.	worte	worte	wort(e)
Instr.	wortu, (-o)		
PLUR.			
Nom. Acc.	wort	wort	worte
Gen.	worto	worte	worte
Dat.	wortum, (-om)	worten	worten

In OHG. the neuter *a*-stems had the same endings as the masculine except in the nom. and acc. plural. The prim. Germanic form of the nom. and acc. plural was **wordō*. The final *-ō* became *-u* and then regularly disappeared after long stem syllables (§ 162). Plurals with short stem syllables, like **fazzu*, *vats*, **jochu*, *yokes*, dropped the *-u* after the analogy of *wort*, *pfund*, *bein*, &c. In Middle German the plural began to take *e* in the nom. and acc. after the analogy of the masculines in the MHG. period. NHG. examples are: *brot*, *haar*, *jahr* (the old instr. sing. has been preserved in *heuer*, OHG. *hiuru* from **hiu jāru*), *joch*, *los*, *moos*, *paar*, *pfund*, *rohr*, *ross*, *schaf*; *bein*, *ding* (pl. also *dinger*), *fell*, *gebet*, *recht*, *schiff*, *seil*, *spiel*, *tier*, *werk*, &c. Cp. § 173.

Nouns ending in *-el*, *-en*, *-er* and the diminutives in *-chen* (MHG. *-kīn*), *-lein* (MHG. *-līn*), have not added *-e* in the plural in NHG., as *feuer* (MHG. *viur*), *messer*, *mittel*, *muster*, *segel*, *wesen*; *mädchen*, *veilchen*, *kindlein*, *vög(e)lein*, &c.

The old uninflected form of the neuter plural has been preserved in nouns preceded by a numeral, as *drei glas*, *sechs pfund*, &c., and then after the analogy of these also with some masculine and feminine nouns, as *drei fuss*, *tausend mann*, *sechs uhr*, &c.

§ 357. A large number of nouns, which formerly belonged to this declension, have passed over into the *-os*-declension in the plural (§ 398). This process began in OHG. and spread a little in MHG. In NHG. about a hundred nouns form their plural in *-er*, such are: *bad* (cp. old dat. pl. in *Baden*), *blatt*, *dach*, *fass*, *glas*, *grab*, *gras*, *haupt* (NHG. dat. pl. *zu häupten*, after the analogy of *zu füßen*), *horn*, *korn*, *kraut*, *loch*, *rad*, *schloss*, *tal*, *volk*; *brett*, *feld*, *geld*, *gesicht* (old fem.), *kind*, *kleid*, *licht*, *lied*, *nest*, *schwert*, *weib*, &c.

§ 358. A few nouns, partly with differentiated meanings,

still fluctuate in the plural, as *bande*, *gewande*, *lande*, *worte*, beside *bänder*, *gewänder*, *länder*, *wörter*.

§ 359. *Molke* (MHG. *molken*), *waffe*, and *wolke* have become feminine with weak plurals. See § 346.

§ 360. s-plurals. In Middle Low German s-plurals began to appear in the fifteenth century. The *s* was used in all cases of masculine and neuter nouns, and was due to the influence of Middle Dutch which had the ending from French. In High German it first occurred in names of persons and then became extended to a few other nouns, as *die Webers*, *fräuleins*, *kerls*, &c.

§ 361.

b. ja-STEMS.

Masculine.

SING.	OHG.	MHG.
Nom. Acc.	<i>hirti</i>	<i>hirte</i>
Gen.	<i>hirtes</i>	<i>hirtes</i>
Dat.	(<i>hirtie</i>), <i>hirte</i>	<i>hirte</i>
Instr.	(<i>hirtiu</i>), <i>hirtu</i> , (-o)	
PLUR.		
Nom. Acc.	(<i>hirte</i>), <i>hirta</i>	<i>hirte</i>
Gen.	(<i>hirteo</i> , -io), <i>hirto</i>	<i>hirte</i>
Dat.	<i>hirtum</i> , (-om ; -im)	<i>hirten</i>

The forms within brackets are the oldest ; from the ninth century onwards the declension of *hirti* only differed from that of *tag* in the nom. and acc. singular.

hirte began to be declined like a weak noun already in MHG. owing to the nom. singular of both declensions being alike, whence NHG. *hirt(e)*, gen. *hirten*, &c., and similarly MHG. *rücke*, *weize* which have levelled out the -n of the oblique cases into the nominative and formed a new gen. in -s : *rücken*, *weizen*, gen. *rückens*, *weizens*. *käse* (OHG. *kāsi*, MHG. *kæse*) has remained strong.

§ 362. To this declension also belong the nomina

agentis, as *lehrer* (OHG. *lērāri*, MHG. *lērære*), *fischer*, *jäger*, *wächter*, &c., which have regularly lost the final -e in the nom. and acc. singular (§ 174, 1), and the inflexional e in the other cases (§ 175).

§ 363.

Neuter.

SING.	OHG.	MHG.	NHG.
Nom. Acc.	nezzi	netze	netz
Gen.	nezzes	netzes	netzes
Dat.	(nezzie), nezze	netze	netze
Instr.	(nezziu), nezzu, (-o)		

PLUR.

Nom. Acc.	nezzi	netze	netze
Gen.	(nezzeo, -io), nezzo	netze	netze
Dat.	nezzum, (-om ; -im)	netzen	netzen

In OHG. the nouns of this declension only differed from the masculines in the nom. and acc. plural.

A large number of the nouns belonging to this declension have regularly lost the final -e in the nom. and acc. singular (§ 174), as *antlitz*, *gebiet*, *gedicht*, *gefäss*, *gemäss*, *geschäft*, *geschenk*, *gesetz*, *gestirn*, *gewächs*, *gewicht*, *heer* (MHG. *her*, § 171), &c., whereas others have regularly retained it (§ 174, 2), as *gebäude*, *gebirge*, *gebilde*, *gefilde*, *gelände*, *gemüse*, *gesinde*, *getreide*, *gewölbe*, &c.

In some nouns the final -e has been dropped in order to make a distinction between the singular and plural, as *erz*, *heft*, *hirn*, *kinn*, *kreuz*, *netz*, *reich*, *stück*, &c.

§ 364. *bett* (MHG. *bette*), *ende*, and *hemd* (MHG. and early NHG. *hemde*), have become weak in the plural. *bild* (MHG. *bilde*), *gemüt* (MHG. *gemüete*), and *geschlecht* have passed over into the -er plurals (§ 368). *kleinod* (MHG. *kleinœte*), the plural of which was formerly *kleinot*, *kleinote*, and *kleinoter*, now has the pl. *kleinodien*, due to association with the latinized sing. form *kleinodium*.

c. wa-STEMS.

§ 365. In OHG. the endings were the same as those of the **a**-stems except in the nom. and acc. singular and the neut. nom. and acc. plural, which ended in **-o**. The final **-w** became vocalized to **-o** in prehistoric HG. (§ 236), and was then dropped after long vowels in the ninth century, as OHG. masc. nom. and accusative **snēo** (Goth. **snáiws**), later **snē**, gen. **snēwes**, dat. **snēwe**, MHG. **snē**, **snēwes**, **snēwe**; OHG. neut. nom. and accusative **kneo**, gen. **knēwes**, dat. **knēwe**, pl. **kneo**, gen. **knēwo**, dat. **knēwum**; MHG. **knie**, gen. **kniewes**, &c. In OHG. and MHG. the **w** was preserved in the oblique cases, but in NHG. the form of the nom. and acc. singular has been levelled out, as masc. *bau*, *klee*, *schnee*, *see* (originally a **wi**-stem, cp. OE. **sēa**) was formerly masculine only. The NHG. distinction *der see*, *the lake*, and *die see*, *the sea*, is due to the influence of Low German. The plural has become weak. *schatten* (MHG. *schate*) became weak and then levelled out the **-n** of the oblique cases into the nominative, from which a new gen. in **-s** has been formed.

Examples of neuters are: *mehl* (MHG. **mēl**, gen. **mēlwes**), *schmer* (MHG. **smēr**, gen. **smērwes**), occasionally also masculine.

2. THE **ō**-DECLENSION.

§ 366. The **ō**-declension contains feminine nouns only, and corresponds to the Latin and Greek **ā**-declension, for which reason it is sometimes called the **ā**-declension. In OHG. the **wō**-stems were declined exactly like the pure **ō**-stems. The **jō**-stems had also the same inflexions as the pure **ō**-stems after about the middle of the ninth century.

§ 367.

a. PURE ō-STEMS.

SING.	OHG.	MHG.	NHG.
Nom. Acc.	gēba	gēbe, zal	gabe, zahl
Gen.	gēbā, (-u, -o)	gēbe, zal	„ „
Dat.	gēbu, (-o)	gēbe, zal	„ „
PLUR.			
Nom. Acc.	gēbā	gēbe, zal	gaben, zahlen
Gen.	gēbōno	gēben, zaln	„ „
Dat.	gēbōm	gēben, zaln	„ „

The prim. Germanic forms were: Sing. nom. *gēbō, acc. *gēbōn (cp. Gr. *χόπαν*), gen. *gēbōz (Goth. *gibōs*), dat. *gēbō (old instrumental); Plur. nom. acc. *gēbōz (Goth. *gibōs*), gen. *gēbōn (Goth. *gibō*), dat. *gēbōmiz (Goth. *gibōm*). In OHG. the nom. acc. singular *gēba* is the old accusative. The regular ending of the nom. would be *-u* in nouns with a short stem syllable and loss of *-u* in nouns with a long stem (§ 162, 2). The old nom. was preserved in words like OHG. *kuningin* (§ 370), and in a few words like *stunt*, *time*, *hour*; *buoz*, *remedy*, *redress*. The dat. came to be used for the gen. singular in late OHG. The gen. plural had the ending of the weak declension (§ 387) already in the oldest period of the language. Through the nom. sing., gen. and dat. pl. having the same endings as the feminine weak declension, ō-stems began in OHG. to be inflected after the analogy of the weak declension, especially in the plural. This process spread considerably in MHG. with concrete nouns, but not often with abstract nouns. In NHG. nearly all nouns originally belonging to this declension have gone over into the weak declension in the plural, so as to keep up the distinction between the singular and plural; and vice versa the feminine weak nouns have become strong in the singular for the same reason. It is remarkable that whereas the feminine ō-stems have chiefly gone over into the weak declension in

the plural, the masculine **a**-stems have chiefly gone over into the **i**-declension in the plural, which hardly ever happened with the **ō**-stems. In fact many old feminine **i**-stems have also gone over into the weak declension in the plural (§ 387). NHG. examples of old **ō**-stems are: *asche, bitte, erde* (weak sing. form in *auf erden, erdensohn*), *ehre, frage, klage, sache, seele, sprache, stimme, strasse, stunde*, &c. NHG. *elle* (MHG. *ellen, elne*, OHG. *elina*): in MHG. the sing. and plural fell together in *ellen*, from which in NHG. a new singular *elle* has been formed.

§ 368. In MHG. the final **-e** was regularly dropped after liquids preceded by a short vowel, as *zal* (OHG. *zala*), *fackel* (OHG. *faccala*), *föder* (OHG. *fëdera*). See § 171. In NHG. the final **-e** has been dropped in a number of words, as *acht* (MHG. *āhte*), *bahn* (MHG. *bane*), and similarly in *hut, held, kost, mark* (boundary), *pein, qual, scham, schau, schlacht, schuld, stirn, tracht*; and the abstract nouns ending in **-ung** (MHG. **-unge**), as *hoffnung, mahnung; feier* (MHG. *vīre*), *leier* (MHG. *lire*), *mauer* (MHG. *mūre*), *steuer* (MHG. *stiure*), *trauer* (MHG. *trūre*); on the ending **-er**, see § 128.

§ 369. *ferse* (OHG. *fërsana*, MHG. *vërsen*), *kette* (OHG. *ketina*, MHG. *keten(e)*), *küche* (OHG. *kuchina*, MHG. *küchen*). In these nouns the plural in MHG. fell together with the weak declension, to which a new singular without **-n** has been formed in NHG.

b. **jō**-STEMS.

§ 370. In the oldest period of the language the sing. nom., acc., and genitive ended in **-e**, and the dat. in **-iu**; pl. nom. and acc. **-e**, gen. **-eōno**, dat. **-eōm**; but from about the middle of the ninth century onwards, the nouns belonging to this class were inflected like *gēba*, except those formed with the West Germanic suffix **-innjō** which preserved the old form of the nominative without **-u** (§ 162),

as nom. **kuningin**, acc. **kuninginna**. In late OHG. the old nom. was also used for the accusative, and vice versa, whence the double forms in MHG.

SING.	OHG.	MHG.	NHG.
Nom.	kuningin	küegin , (-īn, -inne)	königin
Acc.	kuninginna	„	„
Gen.	kuninginnā	küeginne	„
Dat.	kuninginnu , (-o)	küeginne	„
PLUR.			
Nom. }	kuninginnā	küeginne	königinnen
Acc. }			
Gen.	kuninginnōno	küeginnen	„
Dat.	kuninginnōm	küeginnen	„

NHG. examples of nouns belonging to this class are: *brücke*, *hölle*, *hütte*, *rede*, *sünde*, &c.; *freundin*, *gattin*, *gemahlin*, *wirtin*, &c. See § 305.

c. WŌ-STEMS.

§ 371. The nouns belonging to this class were declined in OHG. like *gēba*. NHG. examples are: *braue* (OHG. *brāwa*), *farbe* (OHG. *farawa*), *garbe* in *schafgarbe* (OHG. *garawa*), *reue* (OHG. *riuwa*), *treue* (OHG. *triuwa*).

3. FEMININE ABSTRACT NOUNS IN -ī.

§ 372. This declension comprises two classes of stems which were originally different, but which entirely fell together in their inflexion in OHG.—(1) adjectival abstract nouns the stems of which originally ended in -īn, nom. -ī; (2) verbal abstract nouns with stems ending in -īni; cp. on the one hand Gothic *mikilei*, *greatness*, formed from *mikils*, *great*, *diupeī*, *depth*, from *diups*, *deep*, gen. *miki-leins*, *diupeins* (weak declension), OHG. *hōhī*, *height*,

from *hōh*, *high*, *menigī*, *multitude*, from *manag*, *much*; and, on the other hand, Gothic *dáupeins*, *a dipping*, formed from *dáupjan*, *to dip*, *naseins*, *a rescuing*, from *nasjan*, *to rescue*, gen. *dáupeináis*, *naseináis* (i-declension), OHG. *toufī*, *a dipping*, from *toufen*, *to dip*. In OHG. all cases of the singular ended in *-ī* or *-īn*; the endings of the plural were nom. and acc. *-ī* or *-īn*, gen. *-īno*, dat. *-īm*. The *-ī* was weakened to *-e* in MHG., whence NHG. *höhe*, *menge*, and, similarly, *fülle*, *güte*, *länge*, *nähe*, *schärfe*, *stärke*, *tiefe*, *weite*, &c.; *taufe*. The nouns of this class, which have a plural in NHG., form it weak.

4. THE i-DECLENSION.

§ 373.

a. Masculine.

SING.	OHG.	MHG.	NHG.
Nom. Acc.	gast	gast	gast
Gen.	gastes	gastes	gast(e)s
Dat.	gaste	gaste	gast(e)
Instr.	gastiu, gastu		
PLUR.			
Nom. Acc.	gesti	geste	gäste
Gen.	gesteo, gesto	geste	gäste
Dat.	gestim	gesten	gästen

The prim. Germanic forms were: sing. nom. **gastiz*, acc. **gastin*, gen. **gastaiz*, dat. **gastai*, instr. **gastiō*; pl. nom. **gastīz* older *-ijiz* (Goth. *gasteis*), acc. **gastinz* (Goth. *gastins*), gen. **gastiōn*, dat. **gastimiz*. The regular form of the gen. singular would be **gaste* in OHG., *gastes* was formed on analogy with *tages* as in the other Germanic languages. The nouns with long stems fell together with the *a*-stems in the singular in prehistoric HG. The nom. acc. singular of the nouns with short stems would regularly end in *-i* in OHG., but, with two or

three exceptions, they had dropped the *-i* after the analogy of the long stems in the oldest period of the language. Owing to the singular of the *a-* and *i-*stems being alike, *a-*stems were occasionally inflected like *i-*stems in OHG., and still more so in MHG. In NHG. a great many old *a-*stems have passed over into this declension in the plural (§ 350). A few nouns, which had umlaut in the plural in MHG., have gone over into the *a-*declension, as *grat* (MHG. pl. *græte*), *lachs* (MHG. pl. *lehse*), and similarly *luchs*, *pfad*. *wurm* (MHG. pl. *würme*) with *er-*plural in NHG. (§ 398).

§ 374. Nouns, which could not have umlaut in OHG. and MHG., fell together with the *a-*stems in the singular and plural, as MHG. *brief*, *schrit*, pl. *briefe*, *schrite*. Examples of old *i-*stems in NHG. are: *apfel*, *ast*, *bach*, *balg*, *fall*, *fluss*, *nagel*, *schlag*, &c.

§ 375.

b. Feminine.

SING.	OHG.	MHG.	NHG.
Nom. Acc.	kraft	kraft	kraft
Gen.	krefti	krefte, kraft	„
Dat.	krefti	krefte, kraft	„
PLUR.			
Nom. Acc.	krefti	krefte	kräfte
Gen.	krefteo, krefto	krefte	kräfte
Dat.	kreftim	kreften	kräften

The masculine and feminine *i-*stems were originally declined alike in the singular and plural. The plurals were alike in OHG., but the genitive and dative singular ended in *-i*. The OHG. dat. goes back to an original locative ending in *-ēi* which was regularly shortened to *-ei* and became *-i* in OHG. through the intermediate stage *-ī*. The dat. form then came to be used for the genitive already in the prehistoric period of the language, just as

at a later period the dat. of the *ō*-stems came to be used for the genitive.

The short stems lost their final *-i* after the analogy of the long stems, except OHG. *kuri*, *turi*, MHG. *kür(e)*, *tür(e)*, NHG. *kür*, *tür* (*türe*, see below). In MHG. the nom. and acc. singular began to be used for the genitive and dative after the analogy of the *ō*-declension which had all cases of the singular alike (*gēbe*, *zal*). NHG. examples of old *i*-stems are : *angst*, *axt*, *braut*, *frucht*, *macht* (but *ohnmachen*, *vollmachen*), *stadt*, &c.

§ 376. The following nouns have become weak in the plural in NHG. : *arbeit*, *anstalt*, *art*, *fahrt*, *flut*, *frist*, *furt*, *geburt*, *geiss*, *gestalt*, *gewalt*, *glut*, *jugend*, *last*, *list*, *pflicht*, *saat*, *schicht*, *schrift*, *schuld*, *tat*, *tugend*, *welt*, *zeit*; and the derivative nouns ending in *-heit* (§ 303), *-keit* (§ 303), *-schaft* (§ 310), as *schönheit*, *freundlichkeit*, *botschaft*, &c.

§ 377. In a certain number of nouns a new singular has been formed from the plural in NHG., and then the old plural has become weak, such are : *beichte* (MHG. *bigiht*, *biht*, pl. *bīhte*), *blüte* (MHG. *bluot*, pl. *blüete*), *ente* (MHG. *ant*, pl. *ente*), and similarly *erbse*, *furche*, *gemse*, *geschichte*, *hüfte*, *hürde*, *leiche*, *mähne*, *säule* (MHG. *sül*, pl. *siule*), *stute*, *türe*. In a few nouns we have the old and new singular forms side by side with differentiated meanings, as *fahrt*, *stadt*, beside *fährte*, *stätte*.

5. THE *u*-DECLENSION.

§ 378. The *u*-declension was preserved in Gothic, but in OHG. it no longer existed as an independent declension. The nouns with long stems passed over into the *a*- or *i*-declension, chiefly the latter, in prehistoric times. Below will be found a summary of the more frequent traces of this declension in OHG.

a. *Masculine.*

§ 379. The short stems preserved the **-u** in the nom. and acc. singular in OHG., as **fridu**, **mëto** older ***mëtu**, **sigu**, **situ**, **sunu** beside **sun**; in the other cases they had the endings of the i-declension. The **-u** became **-o** in the ninth century (§ 168), which was regularly weakened to **-e** in MHG. (§ 170), as **fride**, **mëte**, **sige**, beside **mët**, **sic**, **site**, **sun**. **fride** and **site** were sometimes declined weak in MHG. MHG. **fride**, **mët**, **sic** (gen. **siges**), **site**, and **sun** regularly became *friede*, *met*, *sieg*, *sitte*, and *sohn* in NHG. *friede* (*frieden*) levelled out the **-n** of the weak forms into the nominative, from which a new gen. in **-s** has been formed. *sitte* has become feminine with weak plural, and *sohn* has gone over into the i-declension.

Examples of old long **u**-stems, which had gone over into the **a**- or **i**-declension in the oldest HG., are: **dorn** (Goth. **þáurnus**), **tōd**, *death* (Goth. **dáuþus**), **wald** (Goth. ***walpus**); **skilt**, *shield* (Goth. **skildus**), **widar**, NHG. *widder* (Goth. **wiþrus**), **wirt** (Goth. **waírdus**, *host*), and the abstract nouns in **-heit** (Goth. **háidus**, *manner*). See § 303.

b. *Neuter.*

§ 380. OHG. **fihu**, NHG. *vieh* (Goth. **faíhu**) retained the **-u** in the nom. acc. singular, in the gen. and dat. singular it had the same endings as **wort** (§ 356).

c. *Feminine.*

§ 381. In OHG. **hant** (Goth. **handus**) was declined like **kraft** (§ 375), except that in the dat. plural it retained the old **u**-ending, **hantum**, also MHG. dat. plural **handen** beside **henden**, and gen. pl. **hande** (in the combinations **aller hande**, **maneger hande**) beside **hende**. The MHG. dat. singular has been preserved in NHG. **behende**, the gen. pl. in **allerhand**, and the dat. plural in **abhanden**, **beihanden**, **vorhanden**, **zuhanden**. Other old **u**-stems,

which went over into the i-declension in OHG., are : *fluot*, NHG. *flut* (Goth. *flōdus*), *lust* (Goth. *lustus*, masc.).

B. THE WEAK DECLENSION (N-STEMS).

§ 382.

a. Masculine.

SING.	OHG.	MHG.	NHG.
Nom.	boto	bote	bote
Acc.	boton, (-un)	boten	boten
Gen.	boten, (-in)	„	„
Dat.	boten, (-in)	„	„
PLUR.			
Nom. Acc.	boton, (-un)	boten	boten
Gen.	botōno	„	„
Dat.	botōm	„	„

The prim. Germanic forms were : Sing. nom. ***bođō**, acc. ***bođonun**, gen. ***bođinaz**, (-iz), dat. ***bođini** (old locative); plur. nom. ***bođoniz**, acc. ***bođonunz**, gen. ***bođnōn** (West Germanic ***bođōnōn** with **-ōnōn** from the fem. nouns), dat. ***bođōmiz**. The **o** in the stem goes back to an older **u** (§ 57) which ought to appear in the gen. and dat. singular, but the **o** was levelled out into all cases. In OHG. the nom. plural was used for the accusative.

The OHG. endings **-in**, **-un** were chiefly Upper German, and **-en**, **-on** Franconian. Through the weakening of the endings in MHG. all the cases became alike except the nom. singular; this caused some nouns to begin to fluctuate between the strong and weak declension already in MHG. In this declension it is important to distinguish between nouns denoting animate and those denoting inanimate objects. Nouns denoting animate objects are often used in the nominative as well as in the oblique cases, and have therefore generally preserved in NHG. the old distinction between the nominative and oblique cases and have

remained weak ; whereas nouns denoting inanimate objects are seldom used in the nominative, and have mostly levelled out the *-n* of the oblique cases into the nominative, to which a new genitive in *-s* has been formed.

Examples of nouns, which have preserved the final *-e* in the nominative and have remained weak, are : *affe*, *ahne*, *bracke*, *bube*, *bürge*, *drache*, *erbe*, *falke*, *farre*, *ferge*, *fink(e)*, *gatte*, *gefährte*, *geselle*, *hase*, *hüne*, *jude*, *kämpe*, *knabe*, *knappe*, *laffe*, *laie*, *löwe*, *neffe*, *ochs(e)*, *pathe* (*pate*), *pfaffe*, *rabe* (§ 353), *rappe*, *recke*, *riese*, *scherge*, *schulze*, *schurke*, *sklave*, *zeuge*, &c.

A few nouns have lost the *-e* in the nom. singular, but have remained weak in the other cases of the singular and plural, as *bär* (acc. and dat. sing. also occasionally *bär*), *fürst*, *graf*, *herr*, *narr*, *prinz*, *tor*, *nerv*. The following fluctuate between the weak and strong declension in the singular, but are weak in the plural : *bauer*, *nachbar*, *pfau*, *spatz*, *untertan*. See § 354.

§ 383. Examples of nouns, which have levelled out the *-n* of the oblique cases into the nominative, and to which a new genitive in *-s* has been formed, are : *backen*, *balken*, *ballen*, *barren*, *bissen*, *bogen*, *bolzen*, *braten*, *brocken*, *brunnen*, *daumen*, *flecken*, *fohlen*, *galgen*, *garten*, *graben*, *haken*, *hopfen*, *husten*, *kasten*, *kloben*, *knochen*, *knollen*, *knoten*, *koben*, *kolben*, *kragen*, *kuchen*, *laden*, *lappen*, *magen*, *nachen*, *pfosten*, *rachen*, *rahmen*, *rasen*, *riemen*, *roggen*, *schatten* (§ 365), *schemen*, *scherben*, *schinken*, *schragen*, *schlitten*, *schmupfen*, *sporn* (pl. *sporne*), *stecken*, *tropfen*, *zapfen*. This levelling took place almost exclusively with nouns denoting inanimate objects. Forms like nom. *backen*, gen. *backens*, began to appear about the end of the fifteenth century. The ending *-ens* does not appear in weak nouns in MHG.

Of the above nouns, *garten* and *graben* have gone over into the *i*-declension in the plural. *bogen*, *kasten*, *kragen*, and *magen* fluctuate between the *a*- and *i*-declension in the

plural. *laden* has plural *laden* beside *lāden* with differentiated meanings. The other nouns follow the *a*-declension in the plural.

§ 384. In a few nouns the levelling out of the *-n* of the oblique cases into the nominative has not been completely carried out. The following have the old beside the new nominative singular: *friede* beside *frieden* (old *u*-stem), *funke* beside *funken*, and similarly *gedanke* (§ 352), *glaube*, *haufe* (§ 352), *name*, *same*, *wille*, and *schade* with plural *schaden* beside *schāden*; *buchstabe*.

§ 385. *gevatter*, *psalm*, *schmerz*, and *vetter* have become strong in the singular, but have remained weak in the plural.

§ 386. The following nouns have become strong, and gone over into the *a*-declension: *aar*, *adler*, *ampfer*, *April*, *besen*, *blitz*, *bräutigam* (MHG. *brütegome*), *brei*, *dotter*, *gemahl*, *hafer*, *hamster*, *junker* (MHG. *junc hërre*), *käfer*, *kern*, *leichnam*, *lenz*, *Mai*, *März* (but *Märzenveilchen*), *mond* (but *mondenlang*), *nabel*, *salm*, *schelm*, *schiefer*, *stern*, *stör*.

hahn (but *hahnenfeder*, *hahnenschrei*), *herzog*, *schwan* (but *schwanensang*), *tropf* (dunce), have become strong, and gone over into the *i*-declension in the plural; *anwalt* has pl. *anwalte* beside *anwölte*.

§ 387.

b. Feminine.

SING.	OHG.	MHG.	NHG.
Nom.	<i>zunga</i>	<i>zunge</i>	<i>zunge</i>
Acc.	<i>zungūn</i>	<i>zungen</i>	„
Gen.	<i>zungūn</i>	„	„
Dat.	<i>zungūn</i>	„	„
PLUR.			
Nom. Acc.	<i>zungūn</i>	<i>zungen</i>	<i>zungen</i>
Gen.	<i>zungōno</i>	„	„
Dat.	<i>zungēm</i>	„	„

On the *-ū* in the OHG. gen. and dat. singular and nom. plural see § 163, note 2. Already in OHG. a few nouns fluctuated in the singular between the *ō*- and weak declension, and the number of such nouns increased in MHG. In NHG. the singular has become strong after the analogy of the *ō*-declension, so as to keep a clear distinction between the singular and plural. NHG. examples are: *ameise*, *amme*, *blume*, *eule*, *gasse*, *geige*, *glocke*, *harfe*, *hose*, *katze*, *kerze*, *kirche*, *mücke*, *scheibe*, *sonne* (but *sonnenschein*), *taube*, *witwe*, *woche*. *biene* (MHG. *bīe*), and *birne* (MHG. *bir*) have *n* from the inflected forms. *frau* (but *die kirche unserer lieben frauen* = *jungfrau Maria*) had *frou* (used before proper names) beside *frouwe* in MHG.

§ 388.

c. Neuter.

SING.	OHG.	MHG.	NHG.
Nom. Acc.	<i>hërza</i>	<i>hërze</i>	<i>herz</i>
Gen.	<i>hërzen, (-in)</i>	<i>hërzen</i>	<i>herzens</i>
Dat.	<i>hërzen, (-in)</i>	<i>hërzen</i>	<i>herzen</i>
PLUR.			
Nom. Acc.	<i>hërzun, (-on)</i>	<i>hërzen</i>	<i>herzen</i>
Gen.	<i>hërzōno</i>	„	„
Dat.	<i>hërzōm</i>	„	„

Only four nouns belonged to this class in OHG.: *hërza*, *ōra*, *ouga*, *wanga*. In NHG. *herz* (formerly also *herze*) has added the *-s* of the strong declension in the gen. singular. *auge* and *ohr* have become strong in the singular. *wange* has become feminine and is declined like *zunge*.

C. MINOR DECLENSIONS.

I. MONOSYLLABIC CONSONANT STEMS.

a. *Masculine.*

§ 389. Of the nouns, which originally belonged to this class, only a few traces of the old inflexions are found in the earliest period of the language. **fuoz**, *foot*, and **zan** (*zand*), *tooth*, passed over into the i-declension, but the former preserved the old consonantal ending **-um**, (**-om**) in the dat. plural. In MHG. the dat. plural also went over into the i-declension (**füezen**); whence NHG. *fuss*, *zahn*, plural *füsse*, *zähne*. Traces of the old consonantal declension also exist in the uninflected dat. singular and nom. acc. plural of OHG. **ginōz**, and similarly in MHG. In other respects it was declined like **tag**. In NHG. *genosse* has become weak after the analogy of *geselle*.

§ 390.

	SING.	OHG.	MHG.	NHG.
Nom.	man		man	mann
Acc.	man, mannan		man	mann
Gen.	man, mannes		man, mannes	mann(e)s
Dat.	man, manne		man, manne	mann(e)
PLUR.				
Nom.	} man		man, manne	männer, mannen
Acc.				
Gen.	manno		man, manne	„ „
Dat.	mahnum		man, mannen	männern, „

The OHG. acc. singular **mannan** has the pronominal ending **-an** from proper names like nom. **Petrus**, acc. **Petrusan**, and such words as acc. **truhtinan**, *Lord*, **gotan**, *God*. The OHG. and MHG. gen. and dat. **mannes**, **manne**, and the MHG. nom. acc. plural **manne** were formed after the analogy of the a-declension. The NHG.

weak plural *mannen* (vassals) began to appear in the eighteenth century; the plural *männer* has been formed after the analogy of *weiber*, *kinder*. The old plural has been preserved in combination with numerals, as *tausend mann*, but see § 356.

b. Feminine.

§ 391. Most of the nouns originally belonging to this class went over into the i-declension in the oldest period of the language, as *gans* (MHG. gen. sing. still preserved in *gänsebraten*), *kuh* (OHG. *kuo*, pl. *kuoi*, MHG. *kuo*, pl. *küeje*), *laus*, *magd* (OHG. *magad*), *milch*, *maus*, *nuss*, *sau* (OHG. *sū*, pl. *sūi*, MHG. *sū*, pl. *siuwe*, NHG. pl. *säue* beside weak form *sauen*); *eiche* (MHG. *eich*, pl. *eiche*) has been formed from the NHG. plural which has become weak:

§ 392.

SING.	OHG.	MHG.	NHG.
Nom. Acc.	naht	naht	nacht
Gen.	naht	naht, nehte	„
Dat.	naht	naht, nehte	„
PLUR.			
Nom. Acc.	naht	naht, nehte	nächte
Gen.	nahto	naht, nehte	„
Dat.	nahtum	nahten, nehten	nächten

In MHG. the forms with umlaut are after the analogy of the feminine i-declension, whence the NHG. plural forms. The OHG. and MHG. isolated gen. form **nahtes**, **dës nahtes** was formed after the analogy of **dës tages**. The old dat. plural has been preserved in *Weihnachten* (MHG. *zen wihen nahten*). In OHG. and MHG. *brust* and *burg* were sometimes declined like **naht** and sometimes according to the i-declension. *burg* is now weak in the plural (formerly pl. also *bürge*), and *brust*, pl. *brüste*,

is strong. In OHG. *buoh* was mostly neuter in the singular and declined like *wort*; in the plural it was feminine and declined like *naht*. In MHG. it became neuter in the plural also (pl. *buoch* and *büecher*), whence NHG. plural *bücher*.

c. *Neuter*.

§ 393. The old consonant stems *dorf* and *hūs* went over into the -os-declension (§ 398) already in OHG. (MHG. pl. *dörfer*, *hiuser*), whence the NHG. plural *dörfer*, *häuser*, but the old dat. plural has been preserved in proper names, as *Holthausen*, *Schaffhausen*.

2. STEMS IN -r.

§ 394. To this class belonged in OHG. : *fater*, *bruoder*, *muoter*, *tohter*, and *swëster*.

§ 395.

	SING.	OHG.	MHG.	NHG.
Nom. Acc.	<i>fater</i>		<i>vater</i>	<i>vater</i>
Gen.	<i>fater</i> , <i>fateres</i>		<i>vater</i> , <i>vaters</i>	<i>vaters</i>
Dat.	<i>fater</i> , <i>fatere</i>		<i>vater</i> , <i>vater(e)</i>	<i>vater</i>
PLUR.				
Nom. Acc.	<i>fatera</i>		<i>veter(e)</i>	<i>väter</i>
Gen.	<i>fatero</i>		<i>veter(e)</i>	<i>väter</i>
Dat.	<i>faterum</i>		<i>vetern</i>	<i>vätern</i>

fater went over into the a-declension in OHG., and in MHG. the plural went over into the i-declension, whence the NHG. plural *väter*. In the North German colloquial language *vater* is often used without the def. article, like a proper name, with acc. *vatern*, and similarly *muttern*.

§ 396.

	SING.	OHG.	MHG.	NHG.
Nom. Acc.	<i>muoter</i>		<i>muoter</i>	<i>mutter</i>
Gen. Dat.	„	„	„	„

PLUR.

Nom. Acc.	muoter	müeter	mütter
Gen.	muotero	müeter(e)	mütter
Dat.	muoterum	müetern	mütern

In MHG. the plural went over into the *i*-declension, and similarly **brüeder**, **töhter**, whence NHG. *brüder*, *töchter*. Like **muoter** were declined in OHG. **bruoder**, **tohter**, and **swëster**. **bruoder** began to take an *-s* in the gen. singular in MHG. In NHG. *schwester* has gone over into the weak declension in the plural. Forms like *mutters grab*, *grossmutter's haus* have been formed after the analogy of *vaters grab*, &c.

§ 397.

3. STEMS IN *-nt*.

SING.	OHG.	MHG.	NHG.
Nom. Acc.	friunt	vriunt	freund
Gen.	friintes	vriundes	freund(e)s
Dat.	friunte	vriunde	freund(e)

PLUR.

Nom. Acc.	friunt, friunta	vriunt, vriunde	freunde
Gen.	friunto	vriunde	freunde
Dat.	friuntum	vriunden	freunden

friunt went over into the *a*-declension in OHG. A trace of the old consonantal form exists in the nom. acc. plural **friunt**, MHG. **vriunt**; similarly OHG. **fiant**, NHG. *feind*.

To this class belonged originally the present participles as well as the old present participles used as nouns, such as *feind*, *freund*. But the present participles had passed over into the *ja*-declension of adjectives (§ 400) in the oldest period of the language.

§ 398.

4. STEMS IN -os, -es.

SING.	OHG.	MHG.	NHG.
Nom. Acc.	lamb	lamp	lamm
Gen.	lambes	lambes	lamm(e)s
Dat.	lambe	lambe	lamm(e)
PLUR.			
Nom. Acc.	lambir	lember	lämmer
Gen.	lambiro	lember(e)	lämmer
Dat.	lambirum	lember(e)n	lämmern

This class of nouns corresponds to the Greek neuters in -os, Lat. -us, as Greek γένος, gen. γένεος older *γένεοςος, Lat. genus, gen. generis, pl. genera. In the oldest HG. the genitive and dative singular ended in -ires, -ire, but these endings disappeared at an early period, their place being taken by the endings of the a-declension. The -ir was originally a stem-forming suffix which came to be regarded as a plural ending. In the oldest period of the language only about half-a-dozen nouns belonged to this class, but during the OHG. period nearly twenty neuter a-stems passed into this declension, and in NHG. the number has increased to about a hundred. Examples are: *blatt, ei, huhn, kalb, reis, rind; bad, buch, dach, dorf, haupt, haus, loch, tal*, &c. See § 357.

CHAPTER XV

ADJECTIVES

A. THE DECLENSION OF ADJECTIVES.

§ 399. In the parent Indg. language nouns and adjectives were declined alike without any distinction in endings, as in Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit. What is called the uninflected form of adjectives in the Germanic languages is a remnant of the time when nouns and adjectives were declined alike. But already in Indo-

Germanic the pronominal adjectives had partly nominal and partly pronominal endings as in Sanskrit. In prim. Germanic the endings of the pronominal adjectives were extended to all adjectives. Then at a later period, but still in prehistoric HG., some of the case endings were influenced by those of the simple demonstrative pronoun (§ 449). These remarks apply to what is called in the Germanic languages the strong declension of adjectives.

The so-called weak declension of adjectives is a special Germanic formation by means of the suffixes *-en-*, *-on-*, which were originally used to form nomina agentis, and attributive nouns, as Lat. *edō* (gen. *edōnis*), OHG. *ëzzo* (gen. *ëzzen*), *glutton*; Lat. adjectives *catus*, *sly*, *cunning*, *rūfus*, *red*, *red-haired*, *silus*, *pug-nosed*, beside the proper names *Catō* (gen. *Catōnis*), lit. *the sly one*, *schlauberger*, *Rūfō*, *the red-haired man*, *Silō*, *the pug-nosed man*; similarly in OHG. *brūn*, *brown*, *kuoni*, *bold*, beside the proper names *Brūno*, *Kuono*. In like manner Goth. *blinds*, OHG. *blint*, *blind*, beside Goth. *blinda*, OHG. *blinto*, which originally meant, *the blind man*; Goth. *ahma sa weiha*, lit. *ghost the holy one*. Such nouns came to be used attributively at an early period, and then later as adjectives. And already in prim. Germanic this weak declension became the rule when the adjective followed the definite article, as OHG. *Ludowig thēr snëllo*, *Ludwig the Brave*, cp. NHG. *Karl der Grosse*, &c. At a later period, but still in prim. Germanic, the two kinds of adjectives—strong and weak—became differentiated in use. When the one and when the other form is used in HG. is a question of syntax. There were adjectival *n*-stems in the parent Indg. language, but they did not have vocalic stems beside them as is the case in the Germanic languages.

In HG. the adjectives are declined as strong or weak. They have three genders, and the same cases as nouns.

I. THE STRONG DECLENSION.

§ 400. The endings of the strong declension are partly nominal and partly pronominal, the latter are printed in italics for the OHG. forms. The nominal endings are those of the **a-** and **ō-**declensions. The strong declension is divided into pure **a-**, **ō-**stems, **ja-**, **jō-**stems, and **wa-**, **wō-**stems, like the corresponding nouns. The original **i-** and **u-**stems passed over into this declension in prehistoric HG. In OHG. the **ja-**, **jō-** and the **wa-**, **wō-**stems only differed from the pure **a-**, **ō-**stems in the uninflected form. The uninflected form of the **ja-**stems ended in **-i**, which became **-e** in MHG., and has generally disappeared in NHG. The old **ja-**stems are still for the most part recognizable in NHG. by the umlaut in the stem, as OHG. *dunni*, *engi*, *kūski*, *lāri*, *muodi*, *spāti*, *scōni*, *suozi*, *tiuri* = MHG. *dünne*, *enge*, *kiusche*, *lære*, *müede*, *spæte*, *schœne*, *süeze*, *tiure* = NHG. *dünn*, *eng*, *keusch*, *leer*, *müde*, *spät*, *schön*, *süss*, *teuer*. The uninflected form of the **wa-**stems ended in **-o**, which was dropped already in OHG. after long vowels and partly underwent contraction (§ 236), as *blāo*, *blue*, *grāo*, *grey*, later *blā*, *grā*; *frao* (NHG. *froh*), *rao* (NHG. *roh*), later *frō*, *rō*; in other words, the **-o** became **-e** in MHG. and was then dropped after **l** and **r**, as OHG. *falo*, *kalo*, *garo* = MHG. *val*, *kal*, *gar* (§ 171), NHG. *fahl*, *kahl*, *gar*.

The uninflected form of adjectives in the nom. sing. masc. and fem., and the nom. acc. neut. is a remnant of the time when adjectives had the same case endings as nouns, cp. nom. sing. OHG. *tag*, *buoz*, NHG. *busse*, nom. acc. sing. *wort*. In OHG. and MHG. the uninflected form could be used beside the inflected for the nom. sing. all genders and for the acc. neuter, whether the adjective was used attributively or predicatively, thus OHG. *blint man*, *frouwa* (*woman*), *kind*, beside *blintēr man*, *blintiu*

frouwa, blintaz kind; *alt was siu jāro*, *she was old in years*. After the analogy of the predicate use of the uninflected form in the singular, it also came to be used predicatively in the plural in OHG., as *die man sint blint* or *blinte*, *the men are blind*; *wir birun frō*, *we are joyful*. In NHG. the uninflected form, for all numbers and genders, is only used predicatively.

On the inflexion of adjectives containing a suffixal *el*, *em*, *en*, *er*, see § 175.

§ 401.

Masculine.

SING.	OHG.	MHG.	NHG.
Nom.	blint, blintēr	blint, blinder	blinder
Acc.	blintan	blinden	blinden
Gen.	blintes	blindes	blinden, (-es)
Dat.	blintemu, (-o)	blindem(e)	blindem
Instr.	blintu, (-o)		
PLUR.			
Nom. Acc.	blinte	blinde	blinde
Gen.	blintero	blinder(e)	blinder
Dat.	blintēm, (-ēn)	blinden	blinden

Feminine.

SING.			
Nom.	blint, blint(i)u	blint, blindiu	blinde
Acc.	blinta	blinde	blinde
Gen.	blintera	blinder(e)	blinder
Dat.	blinteru, (-o)	blinder(e)	blinder
PLUR.			
Nom. Acc.	blinto	blinde	blinde
Gen.	blintero	blinder(e)	blinder
Dat.	blintēm, (-ēn)	blinden	blinden

Neuter.

SING.

Nom. Acc.	blint, blintaz	blint, blindez	blindes
Gen.	blintes	blindes	blinden, (-es)
Dat.	blintemu, (-o)	blindem(e)	blindem
Instr.	blintu, (-o)		

PLUR.

Nom. Acc.	blint(i)u	blindiu	blinde
Gen.	blintero	blinder(e)	blinder
Dat.	blintēm, (-ēn)	blinden	blinden

§ 402. Singular: **blintēr** has **ē** from **hē** (§ 438) + the nom. sign **r** from older **z**. The acc. sing. **blintan** became **blinten** in the tenth century. The gen. sing. masc. and neut. began to have the weak ending **-en** as early as the seventeenth century. The weak beside the strong form has been common since the middle of the eighteenth century. In present-day German the weak is the usual form. The instrumental case disappeared during the OHG. period. In Middle German the acc. fem. came to be used for the nom. in the MHG. period, whence the NHG. nom. and acc. **blinde**. The old nom. **blindiu** would have become ***blindeu** in NHG. The nom. acc. neut. **blindaz** became **blindez** in the tenth century. In the feminine the forms of the dat. and gen. began to be interchangeable in the ninth century; and from the tenth century onwards the dat. form was regularly used for both cases.

§ 403. Plural: In Middle German the nom. acc. neut. came to have the masc. ending already in the MHG. period, whence the NHG. form **blinde**. The gen. **blintero** became **blintere** in late OHG. The dat. ending **-ēm** became **-ēn** in the ninth century, and was shortened to **-en** in late OHG.

2. THE WEAK DECLENSION.

§ 404. The weak declension of adjectives agrees with that of the weak nouns in all periods of the language except in the NHG. fem. singular. In NHG. the old nom. sing. fem. is used for the acc., but the gen. and dat. sing. have retained the weak endings, whereas in the nouns the old nom. sing. is used for all cases.

On the weakening of the OHG. case endings to *e* in MHG., see § 170.

Masculine.

SING.	OHG.	MHG.	NHG.
Nom.	blinto	blinde	blinde
Acc.	blinton, (-un)	blinden	blinden
Gen. Dat.	blinten, (-in)	blinden	blinden
PLUR.			
Nom. Acc.	blinton, (-un)	blinden	blinden
Gen.	blintōno	blinden	blinden
Dat.	blintōm, (-ōn)	blinden	blinden

Feminine.

SING.			
Nom.	blinta	blinde	blinde
Acc.	blintūn	blinden	blinde
Gen.	blintūn	blinden	blinden
Dat.	blintūn	blinden	blinden
PLUR.			
Nom. Acc.	blintūn	blinden	blinden
Gen.	blintōno	blinden	blinden
Dat.	blintōm, (-ōn)	blinden	blinden

Neuter.

SING.			
Nom. Acc.	blinta	blinde	blinde
Gen. Dat.	blinten, (-in)	blinden	blinden

PLUR.

Nom. Acc.	blintun, (-on)	blinden	blinden
Gen.	blintōno	blinden	blinden
Dat.	blintōm, (-ōn)	blinden	blinden

B. THE COMPARISON OF ADJECTIVES.

I. THE COMPARATIVE DEGREE.

§ 405. The Indg. parent language had several suffixes by means of which the comparative degree was formed. But in the individual branches of the parent language one of the suffixes generally became more productive than the rest, and in the course of time came to be the principal one from which the comparative was formed, the other suffixes only being preserved in isolated forms. The only Indg. comparative suffix, which remained productive in the Germanic languages, is *-is-* which became *-iz-* (= Goth. *-iz-*, OHG. *-ir-*) in prim. Germanic by Verner's law. To this suffix was added in prim. Germanic, or probably in the pre-Germanic period, the formative suffix *-en-*, *-on-*, as in Gr. ἡδιόν from *σφαδίσιον, gen. ἡδιόνος, = Goth. *sutiza*, gen. *sutizins*, OHG. *suoziro*, *sweeter*, gen. *suoziren*, (*-in*). This explains why the comparative is declined weak in the oldest periods of the Germanic languages. Beside the suffix *-iz-* there was also in prim. Germanic a suffix *-ōz-* (Goth. *-ōz-*, OHG. *-ōr-*) which did not exist in Indo-Germanic. This suffix is a special Germanic new formation, and arose from the comparative of adverbs whose positive originally ended in *-ō*, Indg. *-ōd* (§ 547). And then at a later period it became extended to adjectives.

In OHG. polysyllabic adjectives formed with derivative suffixes, and compound adjectives had the suffix *-ōr-*; *ja-*, *jō-* stems the suffix *-ir-*; and uncompounded pure *a-*,

ō-stems sometimes had the one, sometimes the other suffix, thus :—

<i>Positive</i>	<i>Comparative</i>
sālīg, <i>blessed</i>	sālīgōro
tiurlīh, <i>dear</i>	tiurlīhhōro
engi, <i>narrow</i>	engiro
suozi, <i>sweet</i>	suoziro
lang, <i>long</i>	lengiro
hōh, <i>high</i>	{ hōhiro hōhōro

§ 406. -iro, -ōro became -ire, -ōre in late OHG., and in MHG. -ire, -ōre fell together in -er (§ 171), so that in MHG., as in NHG., the presence or absence of umlaut in the stem is often the only indication as to which suffix was used in OHG. On MHG. and NHG. -er beside -r, see § 175.

In OHG. only stems originally containing **a** have umlaut, as Goth. **alpiza**, **batiza**, OHG. **eltiro**, *older*, **bezziro**, *better*. In MHG. most monosyllables have umlaut in the comparative either exclusively or have umlauted beside non-umlauted forms. The cause of these double forms is in a great measure due to the two OHG. suffixes -iro and -ōro falling together in MHG. -er, as MHG. **alter**, **armer**, **junger**, **grōzer**, **hōher**, beside **elter**, **ermer**, **jünger**, **grœzer**, **hœher**, NHG. **älter**, **ärmer**, **jünger**, **grösser**, **höher**. In MHG. and NHG. those adjectives which have umlaut in the positive always retain it in the comparative, as MHG. **dünne** (OHG. **dunni**), *thin*, **schœne** (OHG. **scōni**), *beautiful*, **spæte** (OHG. **spāti**), *late*, **süeze** (OHG. **suozi**), *sweet*; comparative MHG. **dünner**, **schœner**, **später**, **süezer**, NHG. **dünnner**, **schöner**, **später**, **süsser**. Quite a number of adjectives, especially monosyllabic, had umlaut in early NHG., which do not generally have it now, the number of non-umlauted forms having increased

especially during the last seventy years. The following categories do not have umlaut in the comparative: (1) adjectives containing **au** in the stem, as *faul*, *grau*; (2) derivative adjectives ending in **-bar**, **-el**, **-en**, **-er**, **-icht**, **-ig**, **-isch**, **-haft**, **-lich**, **-sam**; (3) participial adjectives, as *klagend*, *lobend*; (4) foreign adjectives, as *galant*, *kolossal*, *nobel*; and about fifty monosyllabic adjectives: *bar*, *barsch*, *blank*, *bunt*, *dumpf*, *falsch*, *flach*, *froh*, *hohl*, *hold*, *kahl*, *karg*, *knapp*, *lahm*, *lass*, *los*, *matt*, *morsch*, *nackt*, *platt*, *plump*, *rasch*, *roh*, *rund*, *sacht*, *sanft*, *satt*, *schlaff*, *schlank*, *schroff*, *starr*, *stolz*, *straff*, *stumm*, *stumpf*, *toll*, *voll*, *wahr*, *wund*, *zahn*. In the following usage varies: *bang*, *blass*, *brav*, *dumm*, *fromm*, *gesund*, *glatt*, *grob*, *nass*, *schmal*, *zart*.

§ 407. As we have seen above, the comparative was declined according to the weak declension in OHG., but already in late OHG. traces of the strong beside the weak declension began to appear, and in MHG. the strong and weak declension exist side by side just as in NHG. The chief factor in bringing about the strong declension of the comparative was the weakening of OHG. **-iro**, **-ōro** to **-er** in MHG. It should be noted that the comparative is used both attributively and predicatively.

On the inflexion of comparatives whose positive ends in **-el**, **-en**, **-er**, see § 175.

2. THE SUPERLATIVE DEGREE.

§ 408. The superlative, like the comparative degree, was formed in the Indg. parent language by means of several suffixes. But in the individual branches of the parent language one of the suffixes generally became more productive than the rest, and in the course of time came to be the principal one from which the superlative degree was formed, the other suffixes only being preserved in

isolated forms. The only superlative suffix which remained productive in the Germanic languages is **-to-** in the combination **-isto-**, formed by adding the original superlative suffix **-to-** to the comparative suffix **-is-**, as in Sanskrit and Greek, as Gr. ἡδίστος = Goth. **sutists**, OHG. **suozisto**, *sweetest*. The simple superlative suffix **-to-** has been preserved in Gr., Lat., and the Germanic languages in the formation of the ordinal numerals, as Gr. ἕκτος; Lat. **sextus**, Goth. **saiḥsta**, OHG. **sēhsto**, *sixth*.

The Germanic suffix **-ōst-** was a new formation like **-ōz-** in the comparative. In OHG. the adjectives which had **-iro** in the comparative had **-isto** in the superlative, and those which had **-ōro** in the comparative had **-ōsto** in the superlative, thus **sālīgōsto**, **tiurlīhhōsto**, **engisto**, **suozisto**, **lengisto**, **hōhisto**, **hōhōsto**. See § 405.

-isto, **-ōsto** became **-iste**, **-ōste** in late OHG., and fell together in MHG. **-est**. What has been said under the comparative about umlaut, &c., also applies to the superlative in OHG., MHG., and NHG. On MHG. and NHG. **-est** beside **-st**, see § 182. MHG. **altest**, **armest**, **jungest**, **grōzest**, **hōhest**, beside **eltest**, **ermost**, **jüngest**, **græzest** (**grøest**), **hœhest**, NHG. *der älteste*, *ärmste*, *jüngste*, *grösste*, *höchste*.

§ 409. In OHG. the superlative was declined according to the weak declension. Strong forms beside the weak began to appear in late OHG. In MHG. the strong and weak declension exist side by side just as in NHG. The superlative is only used attributively, and its uninflected form seldom occurs except when used adverbially.

3. IRREGULAR COMPARISON.

§ 410. The following adjectives form their comparatives and superlatives from a different root than the positive:—

Goth. gōps	batiza	batists
OHG. guot	bezziro	bezzisto
MHG. guot	bezzer	bezzest, (beste)
NHG. gut	besser	best
OHG. luzzil, <i>little</i>	minniro	minnisto
MHG. lützel	minner, (minre)	minnest, (minste)
NHG. wenig	minder	mindest

The comp. and superl. with the meaning *smaller*, *smallest* were still used down to the eighteenth century. The meanings *less*, *least* have been evolved out of the new positive **wenig** and the MHG. adv. **min** (**minner**, **minre**), *less*, **minnest** (**minste**), *least*. **mindest** is a new formation from **minder** where **d** was regular (§ 273).

Goth. mikils	máiza	máists
OHG. mihhil, <i>great</i>	mēro	meisto
MHG. michel	mērer	meiste
NHG. viel	mehr	meist

MHG. **mērer** is a double comparative, whence early NHG. **mehrer**, *greater*, as **das mehrere teil** (Luther), and this meaning was still preserved down to the eighteenth century. Late NHG. **mehrere** is plural. When the adj. **michel** was supplanted by **viel**, *much*, the old adjectival meanings of the comp. and superl. disappeared, and their place was taken by that of the old adv. MHG. **mē(r)**, **mēre**, *more*, **meist** (**meiste**), *most*.

OHG. **wirsiro**, **wirsisto**, MHG. **wirser**, **wirsest** (**wirste**), used as the comp. and superl. of OHG. **ubil**, *bad*, MHG. **übel**, have disappeared in NHG.

OHG. nāh (adv.)	nāhōr	nāhist
MHG. nāch	{ nāher	{ nāhest
	{ næher	{ næhest
NHG. nahe	nāher	nächst

NHG. **nah** is the adj. corresponding to MHG. **nāch**, with **h** from the inflected forms (§ 284), but NHG. **nahe** corresponds to the MHG. adv. **nāhe**, OHG. **nāho**.

§ 411. Already in OHG. the superl. **lezzisto** (MHG. **lezzeste**, **leste**) was no longer felt as being the superl. of **laz**, *idle*. Late MHG. (Middle German dialect) **letzte** is from Low German **lezt** = **letst**, a shortened form of **letist**. The NHG. comp. **letztere** is a new formation from **letzte**.

§ 412. In a few cases the comparative and superlative were formed in OHG. from an adverb or preposition, as in Latin.

<i>ēr, formerly</i>	ēriro	ēristo
<i>fora, furi, before</i>	furiro	furisto
<i>furdir, forwards</i>	{ fordro fordaro, (-oro) }	fordarōsto
<i>hintar, behind</i>	hintaro	hintarōsto
<i>inne, within</i>	innaro	innarōsto
<i>oba, above</i>	obaro, (oboro)	obarōsto
<i>untar, down</i>	untaro	untarōsto
<i>ūz, ūzar, outside</i>	ūzaro	ūzarōsto

Most of the above forms have survived in NHG. **ēristo** (MHG. **ēriste**, NHG. **erste**) was used as an ordinal number already in OHG. From NHG. **erste** has been formed the new comparative **erstere**. **furisto** was sometimes used in OHG. as an ordinal number beside **ēristo**. It has been preserved in NHG. **fürst**. **fordaro**, **fordarōsto** correspond to NHG. *vordere*, *vorderste*; and similarly NHG. *hintere*, *hinterste*; *innere*, *innerste*; *obere*, *oberste*; *untere*, *unterste*. The old superl. **obarōsto** has also been preserved in NHG. **obrist** beside **oberst**, *colonel*. MHG. **ūzer**, **ūzerst** began to have umlaut after the analogy of other adjectives in late MHG., whence NHG. **äussere**, **äusserste**. The old comparative without umlaut still occurs in NHG. **ausserhalb**.

C. NUMERALS.

§ 413.

I. CARDINAL.

OHG.	MHG.	NHG.
ein	ein	eins
zwei	zwei	zwei
drī	drī	drei
feor, fior	vier	vier
fimf, finf	finf, fünf	fünf
sēhs	sēhs	sechs
sibun	siben	sieben
ahto	ahte	acht
niun	niun	neun
zēhan	zēhen	zehn
einlif	einlif, eil(i)f	elf
zwelif	zwelf	zwölf
drīzēhan	drīzēhen	dreizehn
fiorzēhan	vierzēhen	vierzehn
finfzēhan	finf-, fünfzēhen	fünfzehn
sēh(s)zēhan	sēh(s)zēhen	sechzehn
*sibunzēhan	sibenzēhen	sieben-, siebzehn
ahtozēhan	ah(t)zēhen	achtzehn
niunzēhan	niunzēhen	neunzehn
zweinzug	zweinzic	zwanzig
drīzzug, drīzug	drīzic	dreissig
fiorzug	vierzic	vierzig
finfzug	finf-, fünfzic	fünfzig
sēh(s)zug	sēh(s)zic	sechzig
sibunzug	sibenzic	sieben-, siebzig
ahtozug	ah(t)zic	achtzig
niunzug	niunzic	neunzig
zēhanzug, hunt	zēhenzic, hundert	hundert
zwei hunt	zwei hunt, hundert	zwei hundert
dūsunt	tūsent	tausend
zwā dūsuntā	zwei tūsent	zwei tausend

NHG. **eins** is from the old inflected form of the neut., MHG. **einez**. **zwei** is the old neuter form, and **drei** the old masc. form. On OHG. **fimf** beside **finf**, see § 246. **fünf** beside **finf** began to appear already in the twelfth century, whence NHG. **fünf**. Beside NHG. **fünf** there was formerly in common use **funf**, **funfzehn**, **funfzig**, especially in North German. These forms are still common in some North German dialects. The final **n** in OHG. **sibun**, **niun**, and **zēhan** is due to the ordinal forms (§ 161, 1). OHG. **einlif**, **zwelif**, originally meant something like (ten and) one left over, (ten and) two left over, cp. Lithuanian **vėnūlika**, *eleven*, **dvýlika**, *twelve*, &c., where the **-lif** and **-lika** are from ***liq-** the weak form of the Indg. root ***leiq-**, *to leave*, and are ultimately related to OHG. **lihan**, Goth. **leihvan**, *to lend*, Gr. **λείπω**, Lat. **linquō**, *I leave*. The assimilation of ***li-** to **-lif** first took place in **zwelif** because of the preceding labial (§ 198, note), and then, at a later period, the **-lif** was extended to **einlif** for older ***einlih**. On NHG. **elf** see § 139, and on **zwölf**, § 92. The **z** in OHG. **drīzēhan** is due to the simplex **zēhan** and the compounds 14 to 19, otherwise it would have been ***drīzēhan** in OHG., cp. **drīzug** (§ 217). In OHG. and MHG. forms with and without medial **s** existed side by side in the words for 16 and 60 (§ 282). **siebzehn** and **siebzig** are the forms now in general use. In the words for 18 and 80 the **t** disappeared in MHG. by assimilation, but was often restored through the influence of **acht**, whence the NHG. forms with **t**. On the **a** in **zwanzig**, see § 139.

§ 414. The decades 20 to 60 were formed in prim. Germanic from the units 2 to 6 and the abstract noun ***tegund²** = Indg. ***dekmt²**, *decade*, whence the Goth. stem form **tigu-** which went over into the **u**-declension with a plural **tigjus**, as nom. **twái tigjus**, *twenty*, dat. **twáim tigung** = OHG. **zweinzug**, the first element of which is

also originally a dative. Prim. Germanic **tegunð* is a derivative of prim. Germanic **texun-* (= Indg. **dékm*, Gr. *δέκα*, Lat. *decem*, Goth. *taíhun*, OHG. *zëhan*) with the change of *χ* to *g* by Verner's law (§ 199) and the loss of the final consonants (§ 161). The stem **tegu-* regularly became *-tig* in OE. and OS., and **-zig* in OHG. The *u* in OHG. *-zug* is difficult to account for. It may have arisen from the assimilation of the first vowel to the second before the final *-u* disappeared. *-zug* was weakened to *-zig* (*-zeg*) in late OHG., whence MHG. *-zic* (*-zec*) and NHG. *-zig*.

In the oldest HG. the decades 70 to 100 were *sibunzo*, *ahtozo*, **niunzo*, *zëhanzo*, but from the early part of the ninth century they were remodelled on analogy with the decades 20 to 60. *sibunzo*, &c. are shortened forms for older **sibunzohund*, **ahtozohund*, **niunzohund*, **zëhanzohund* = Goth. *sibuntëhund*, *ahtautëhund*, *niuntëhund*, *taíhuntëhund*. Many attempts have been made to explain these forms, but no satisfactory explanation of their morphology has ever yet been given.

§ 415. The usual form for one hundred is in OHG. *zëhanzug*, which was still common in MHG. down to the twelfth century. The form *hunt* for a single hundred does not occur until late OHG. In OHG. and early MHG. 200, 300, &c. were regularly expressed by the units and the neut. noun *hund* (= Gr. *ἑκατόν*, Lat. *centum*, Indg. **kmtóm*). The form *hundert* (= O.Icel. *hundrað*, OE. *hundred*) does not occur in HG. until the twelfth century. The second element, *-ert*, *-rað*, *-red*, is related to Goth. *raþjō*, *number*. OHG. *dūsunt*, late OHG. also *tūsent*, was mostly a fem. noun, but also often neuter. In MHG. it was neut. as in NHG.

§ 416. In OHG. the decades 20 to 100, *hunt*, and *dūsunt* were nouns and governed a following noun in the gen. case. In MHG. they were mostly used as uninflected adjectives as in NHG.

§ 417. In OHG. the numerals 1 to 3 were declinable in all cases and genders as in the other Germanic languages.

§ 418. *ein* was declined according to the strong or weak declension of adjectives in OHG. and MHG. as in NHG., when declined weak in OHG. and MHG. it meant 'alone', and with the meaning 'only ones' pl. weak forms also occurred where in NHG. the inflected forms of *einzig* are used. The uninflected form *ein* was generally used for all genders in the nom., and in the acc. neuter, as *ein man, frouwa, kind*. In NHG. the fem. nom. acc. is always inflected. *ein* came to be used as an indef. art. already in OHG., but it was not used so frequently as such in OHG. as in MHG. and NHG. In all periods of the language it was accented or unaccented according as it was used as a numeral or indef. article.

§ 419.	OHG.	MHG.	NHG.
Nom. Acc. Masc.	zwēne	zwēne	zwei, (zween)
„ „ Fem.	zwā, (zwō)	zwā, (zwō)	zwei, (zwo)
„ „ Neut.	zwei	zwei	zwei
Gen. all genders	zweio, (zweiero)	zweier	zwei, (zweier)
Dat. „ „	zweim, (zwein)	zwein, (zweien)	zwei, (zweien).

The nom. acc. neut. *zwei* came to be used for the masc. and fem. in Middle German already in the MHG. period. The uninflected nom. acc. neut. *zwei* began to be used in MHG. for all genders and cases before a following noun. The gen. *zweiero* with adjectival ending became the regular form from late OHG. onwards, whence MHG. and NHG. *zweier*. The nom. acc. *zween*, fem. *zwo* were common down to the eighteenth century, and are also sometimes found in nineteenth-century literature.

§ 420.	OHG.	MHG.	NHG.
Nom. Acc. Masc.	drī, (drīe)	drī, (drīe)	dreī
„ „ Fem.	drīo	drī, (drīe)	dreī
„ „ Neut.	driu	driu	dreī
Gen. all genders	drīo, (drīero)	drier	dreī, (dreier)
Dat. „ „	drim, (drin)	drin, (drī(e)n)	dreī, (dreien)

Late OHG. and MHG. *drīe* has adjectival ending. NHG. *dreī* is regularly developed from the OHG. and MHG. masc. *drī*. The masc. *drī* came to be used for the fem. *drīo* in late OHG., and in late MHG. the masc. *drī* came to be used for the neut.; and *driu*, which would have become **dreu* in NHG., disappeared. *drī* (=NHG. *dreī*) began to be used already in MHG. for all genders and cases before a following noun. The gen. *drīero* with adjectival ending became the regular form from late OHG. onwards, whence MHG. *drier* and NHG. *dreier*. The dat. *drīen* (=NHG. *dreien*) with adjectival ending beside *drin* is common from the twelfth century until towards the end of the MHG. period, then *drin* disappeared.

§ 421. In OHG. and MHG. the numerals 4 to 12 remained uninflected when they stood before nouns, but were inflected when they stood after a noun, or were used as nouns. The nom. and acc. neut. had adjectival endings. The endings are:—

	OHG.	MHG.
Nom. Acc. Masc. Fem.	-i	-e
„ „ Neut.	-iu, -u	-iu
Gen.	-eo, -o	-er
Dat.	-im, -in	-en

The OHG. endings, except for the nom. and acc. neut., are those of the i-declension (§ 373). The MHG. gen. ending *-er* is adjectival (§ 401).

The numerals 13 to 19 were also sometimes inflected

after the analogy of the numerals 4 to 12. In the case of 13 both elements could be inflected, but in 14 to 19 only **-zēhan** had inflexions.

When the cardinal numerals are inflected in NHG., they have **-e** in the nom. and acc., **-er** in the gen. (but **-en** when preceded by the def. article or a word declined like it), and **-en** in the dat. except **sieben** which does not take a second **-en**.

§ 422.

2. ORDINAL.

OHG.	MHG.	NHG.
ērīsto, furīsto	ērste	erste
ander	ander	zweite
drītto	drītte	drītte
feordo, fiordo	vierde	vierte
fīmfto, fīnfto	fīnfte, fūnfte	fūnfte
sēhsto	sēhste	sechste
sībunto	sībente, -de	siebente
ahtodo	ahtede, ahte	achte
niunto	niunte, -de	neunte
zēhanto	zēhente, -de	zehnte
einlīfto	ei(n)līfte, eīlfte	elfte
zwelīfto	zwelfte	zwölfte
drīttozēhanto	drīzēhende	dreizehnte
fiordozēhanto	vierzēhende	vierzehnte
fīnf tazēhanto	fūnfzēhende	fūnfzehnte
sēhstazēhanto	sēh(s)zēhende	sechzehnte
sībuntozēhanto	sībenzēhende	siebzehnte
ahtodazēhanto	ah(t)zēhende	achtzehnte
niuntazēhanto	niunzēhende	neunzehnte
zweīn zugōsto	zweīnzigeste	zwanzigste
drī zugōsto	drīzigeste	dreissigste
fīor zugōsto	vierzigeste	vierzigste
fīnf zugōsto	fūnfzigeste	fūnfzigste
sēh(s) zugōsto	sēh(s)zigeste	sechzigste

OHG.	MHG.	NHG.
sibunzugōsto	sibenzigeste	siebzigste
ahtozugōsto	ah(t)zigeste	achtzigste
niunzugōsto	niunzigeste	neunzigste
zëhanzugōsto	{ zëhenzigeste } { hundert(e)ste }	hundertste
dūsuntōsto	tūsent(e)ste	tausendste

The ordinals **ēristo**, **furisto** are old superlatives (§ 412). OHG. and MHG. **ander** (= Goth. **anþar**, OE. **ōþer**, cp. Engl. *every other day*) was declined according to the strong declension in OHG., but in late OHG. also weak as in MHG. and NHG. **ander** with the meaning *second* was used down to the eighteenth century and is still preserved in **anderthalb**. **zweite**, a new formation from **zwei** after the analogy of the other ordinals, does not occur until the fifteenth century. Beside **zweite** the masc. form **zweente**, and fem. **zwote**, often occur in the eighteenth century and also occasionally in early nineteenth-century literature. The word for *third* had short **i** already in prim. Germanic, thus OHG. **dritto** (Goth. **þridja**, OE. **þrida**, Gr. **τρίτος**) with stem form from Indg. ***tri-**, the weak form of ***trei-**, *three*.

The ordinals 4th to 12th were formed direct from the cardinals by means of the Indg. suffix **-to-** and were declined according to the weak declension.

The ordinals 13th to 19th were formed from the ordinals 3rd to 9th and the ordinal for 10th (cp. also Goth. **fimftataíhunda**, *fifteenth*), but only **-zëhanto** was inflected. In late OHG. the first ordinal of the compound was replaced by the cardinal, whence the MHG. and NHG. forms.

The ordinals 20th to 100th, and 1000th, were formed from the cardinals and the superlative suffix **-ōst-** (§ 408), whence the MHG. and NHG. forms.

In NHG. the ending **-te** has been generalized from

those forms where it was regular, as in *erste*, *dritte*, *fünfte*, *zwanzigste*, &c., just as Modern Engl. has generalized the *-th* from *fourth* onwards, as *fifth*, *sixth*, *twelfth*, OE. *fifta*, *siexta*, *twelfta*, &c., whereas most Modern Engl. dialects have generalized the *-t* forms, as *fourt*, *fift*, *sixt*, *twelft*, &c.

sibende, *niunde*, *zēhende* were the usual MHG. forms (§ 268). *ahtede* became *ahte* already in MHG., whence NHG. *achte*. The phonological remarks, which have been made concerning the cardinals, also apply to the ordinals.

§ 423. In OHG. all the ordinals, except *ander*, were declined according to the weak declension of adjectives. In MHG. they were declined according to the weak or strong declension of adjectives, but without uninflected forms, just as in NHG.

3. OTHER NUMERALS.

§ 424. In OHG. the multiplicative numeral adjectives were formed from the cardinals and the Germanic suffix for *-fold* (Goth. *-falps*, OE. *-feald*, OHG. *-falt*), as *einfalt*, *zwifalt*, *drifalt*, *fiorfalt*, *finffalt*, *sēhsfalt*, *sibunfalt*, *ahto-falt*, *niunfalt*, *zēhanfalt*, &c. (= OE. *ānfeald*, *twiefeald*, *priefeald*, &c.), which were declined as ordinary adjectives. From *-falt* there was formed in late OHG. the suffix *-faltig* (= MHG. *-veltic*, *-valtic*, NHG. *-fältig*), as *einfaltig*, *zwifaltig*, *drifaltig*, *fiorfaltig*, &c. = MHG. *einveltic*, *zwiveltic*, *driveltic*, *vierveltic*, &c., NHG. *einfältig* with changed meaning; *zweifältig*, *dreifältig*, are new formations from *zwei* and *drei*; *vierfältig*, &c.

In the MHG. period multiplicative numeral adjectives began to be formed from *-fach* (= OE. *fæc*), *part*, *division of space or time*, as *einfach*, *zwifach*, *drifach*, *vierfach*, &c., whence NHG. *einfach*, *vierfach*, &c.; *zweifach* (older

NHG. *zwiefach*) and *dreifach* are new formations from *zwei*, *drei*; cp. also *mannigfach*, *mehrfach*, *vielfach*.

Of the three MHG. forms *-fach*, *-valt*, *-veltic*, the form *-valt* ceased to be used in this connexion in late MHG., and in NHG. the form *-fach* is the usual one; *-fältig* is now archaic. Beside *zweifach* we also have *doppelt* (§ 272) with differentiated meanings.

§ 425. The adverbial multiplicatives were in OHG. *eines* (gen. of *ein*) which was in common use in the form *eins* down to the beginning of the nineteenth century. *zwiro*, MHG. *zwir*, early NHG. *zwier*, now practically obs. *driror* was rare already in OHG., the usual form was *drio stunt*, the *stunt* being properly an old fem. noun used adverbially; *vior stunt*, *finf stunt*, &c. In the thirteenth century *māl* (Engl. *meal* in *piecemeal*, *meal-time*) began to be used with the same meaning as *stunt*, and then at a later period *stunt* became obs., whence NHG. *einmal*, *zweimal*, *dreimal*, &c.

§ 426. The NHG. suffix *-lei* was in MHG. a fem. noun which only occurred in the gen. case, as *einer leie*, *drīer leie*, *vier leie*, *aller leie*, *maneger leie*, &c., whence NHG. *einerlei*, *zweierlei*, *dreierlei*, *viererlei*, *allerlei*, *mancherlei*, *vielerlei*, &c. MHG. *leie*, *lei*, *way*, *manner*, is a loan-word from Old Provençal *ley* (nom. *lei-s*, *ley-s*), Lat. acc. *lēgem*.

§ 427. MHG. *anderhalb*, *drittehalb*, *vierdehalb*, *fünftehalb*, &c., lit. (one and) the second half, (two and) the third half, &c., whence NHG. *anderthalb*, *dritt(e)halb*, *viert(e)halb*, &c. This method of expressing numbers goes back to the prim. Germanic period, and was originally common in all the Germanic languages. Originally both elements of the compound were inflected, but at a later period the compound, when used before nouns, became uninflected like other cardinal numerals. Cp. OE. *ōper healf hund daga*, 150 *days*; *pridda healf*, *two and a half*;

fēorþa healf, *three and a half*; Gr. τρίτον ἡμιτάλαντον, *two talents and a half*, lit. *third half talent*.

§ 428. MHG. *sëlbe* *ander*, *sëlbe* *ditte*, *sëlbe* *vierde*, &c., where *sëlbe* is the weak form of the nom. *sēlp*, later written in one word *sēlbander*, *sēlbdritte*, *sēlbvierde*, whence NHG. *selbander*, lit. *self as second*, *selbdritt*, *selbviert*, &c., as *selbdritt erschien der wolf* (Lessing), cp. Gr. τρίτος αὐτός, lit. *himself as third* = *himself with two others*, τέταρτος αὐτός, *himself with three others*. Formerly the cardinals were also occasionally used, as *selbdrei*, *selbvier*, &c.

§ 429. In OHG. *beide* was declined according to the strong declension of adjectives and had plural forms only. In MHG. it began to have singular forms after the analogy of *iewēder*, *iedewēder*, *each*. In NHG. it came to be treated as an ordinary adjective and accordingly has strong and weak forms singular and plural. Cp. the isolated form *beiderseits*, older NHG. *beiderseit* = MHG. *ze beider zīt*.

§ 430. NHG. *erstens*, *zweitens*, *drittens*, *viertens*, &c., are modern formations from the weak gen. of the ordinals, to which has been added the so-called adverbial gen. ending *-s*.

CHAPTER XVI

PRONOUNS

§ 431. THE most difficult chapter in works on comparative grammar is the one dealing with the pronouns. It is impossible to state with any degree of certainty how many pronouns the parent Indg. language had and what forms they had assumed at the time it became differentiated into the various branches which constitute the Indg. family of languages. The difficulty is rendered still more com-

plicated by the fact that most of the pronouns, especially the personal and demonstrative, must have had accented and unaccented forms existing side by side in the parent language itself; and that one or other of the forms became generalized already in the prehistoric period of the individual branches of the parent language. And then at a later period, but still in prehistoric times, there arose new accented and unaccented forms side by side in the individual branches, as e.g. in prim. Germanic **ek**, **mek** beside **ik**, **mik**. The separate Germanic languages generalized one or other of these forms before the beginning of the oldest literary monuments and then new accented beside unaccented forms came into existence again. And similarly during the historic periods of the different languages. Thus, e.g., the OE. for **I** is **ic**; this became in ME. **ich**, accented form, beside **i**, unaccented form; **ich** then disappeared in standard ME. (but it is still preserved in one of the modern dialects of Somersetshire) and **i** came to be used as the accented and unaccented form. At a later period it became **ī** when accented and remained **i** when unaccented. The former has become NE. **I**, and the latter has disappeared from the literary language, but it is still preserved in many northern Engl. dialects, as **i**. In these dialects **i** is regularly used in interrogative and subordinate sentences; the ME. accented form **ī** has become **ai** and is only used in the dialects to express special emphasis, and from it a new unaccented form **a** has been developed which can only be used in making direct assertions. Thus in one and the same dialect (Windhill, Yorks.) we arrive at three forms: **ai**, **a**, **i**, which are never mixed up syntactically by genuine native dialect speakers. Something similar to what has happened and still is happening in the modern dialects must also have taken place in the prehistoric and historic periods of all the Indg. languages; hence in the prehistoric forms

of the pronouns given below it must not be assumed that they were the only ones existing in prim. Germanic. They are merely given as the nearest ascertainable forms from which the OHG. forms were descended.

I. PERSONAL.

§ 432.

First Person.

	OHG.	MHG.	NHG.
<i>Sing.</i> Nom.	ih	ich	ich
Acc.	mih	mich	mich
Gen.	mīn	mīn	meiner, (mein)
Dat.	mir	mir	mir
<i>Pl.</i> Nom.	wir	wir	wir
Acc.	unsih	uns, (unsich)	uns
Gen.	unsēr	unser	unser, (unsrer)
Dat.	uns	uns	uns

§ 433.

Second Person.

<i>Sing.</i> Nom.	dū, du	dū, du	du
Acc.	dih	dich	dich
Gen.	dīn	dīn	deiner, (dein)
Dat.	dir	dir	dir
<i>Pl.</i> Nom.	ir	ir	ihr
Acc.	iuwih	iuch	euch
Gen.	iuwēr	iuwer	euer, (eurer)
Dat.	iu	iu	euch

§ 434. In the parent language the nom. was rarely used except to express emphasis (cp. Skr., Lat., Gr.), because it was sufficiently indicated by the personal endings of the verb. Beside the accented form of each case of the personal pronouns, there also existed one or more unaccented forms just as in many modern dialects, where we often find three or even four forms for the nom. case of each pronoun. With few exceptions all the OHG. forms

of the first and second persons represent prim. Germanic unaccented forms. The accented forms corresponding to OHG. **ih**, **mih**, **dih** occur, e.g., in O.Icel. **ek**, and OE. **mec**, **þec**.

The **h** in OHG. **mih**, **dih**, **sih** goes back to a prim. Germanic particle, ***ke** = Indg. ***ge**, which is found in Gr. pronominal forms like *ἐμέγε*.

On the OHG. forms with final **r** from prim. Germanic **z** see § 161, (3).

OHG. **unsih** and **iuwih** have **-ih** from the analogy of the sing. **mih**, **dih**.

The pl. acc. **unsih** and dat. **uns** were pretty well kept apart in OHG., in MHG. **unsich** was rarely used, and in NHG. the old dat. **uns** is now always used for the acc. as well.

The origin of the **ē** in **unsēr**, **iuwēr** is difficult to explain. It may partly be due to the fact that these genitives were also used in OHG. as the nom. sing. of the possessive pronouns and that they have **-ēr** from the adjectival ending as in **blintēr** (§ 402).

du was often used enclitically in OHG. and MHG. just as it is in the NHG. colloquial language, as OHG. **nimis du?** became **nimistu?** = NHG. **nimstə?**; **bis du?** became **bistu?** = NHG. **bistə?** This is the origin of the final **t** in the second pers. sing. of verbs. The **t** came to be regarded as part of the verb, so that we find already in OHG. forms like **nimist du?** beside **nimistu?** NHG. **du** is from the MHG. unaccented form **du**. MHG. **dū** would have become ***dau** in NHG.

OHG. **ir** has **i** for **u** after the analogy of **wir**. The prim. Germanic form was **jūz**, cp. Goth. **jus**. From about the thirteenth century onwards the plural form **ir** came to be used for the second pers. sing. as the most usual form of politeness. It is still so used by country people amongst themselves, and by people of 'high degree'

when they wish to avoid the familiar form **du** and the respectful form **Sie**.

OHG. **iuwih** became **iuch** about the end of the eleventh century. In MHG. **iu** (§ 232) and **iuch** were kept pretty strictly apart until the fourteenth century. From then onwards **iuch** began to take the place of **iu**, especially in Middle German. And the old dat. form disappeared in early NHG.

Beside the gen. **mīn**, **dīn** there existed in OHG. and MHG. **mīnes**, **dīnes** in combination with **sēlbes**, *ipsius*, as **mīnes sēlbes līp**, lit. *the body of myself*. In MHG. beside **mīnes**, **dīnes sēlbes** there also existed **mīner**, **dīner sēlbes**, presumably at first only in connexion with fem. nouns; but the MHG. gen. pl. **unser**, **iuwer** were also an important factor in the origin of the forms **mīner**, **dīner sēlbes**. About the fourteenth century, they came to be used alone and regularly became *meiner*, *deiner* in NHG. The NHG. genitives *mein*, *dein*, *unser*, *euer* are regularly developed from the corresponding OHG. and MHG. forms. The old forms **mein**, **dein** are still used in poetic diction, as *Wie könnt' ich dein vergessen! Dein denk' ich allezeit*; cp. also *vergissmeinnicht*. In the pl. **unser** and **euer** are the usual NHG. forms, as *Vergesst unser nicht* (Goethe); *Ihr zeigtet selten beherrschung euer selbst* (Schiller). But the longer forms with **-er** from the analogy of the adjectival endings are pretty common in the literature of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, as *Gedenken Sie unsrer* (Goethe); *Eurer, wahrlich hätt' ich nicht gefehlt* (Schiller).

§ 435. The only trace of a dual in OHG. is **unkēr**, *of us two*, in the combination **unkēr zweio** (Otfrid). In thirteenth-century Bavarian occur **ez**, *ye two*, dat., acc. **enk**, also a possessive **enker**, still preserved in the modern Bavarian dialects.

Third Person.

§ 436. The pronoun of the third person is formed from two stems which are etymologically unconnected, viz. *i-* and *si-*, (perhaps also *sjā*), as Lat. nom. masc. *is* = Goth. *is*, OHG. *ēr* (*ir*); neut. Lat. *id* = Goth. *it-a*, OHG. *iz*; fem. Gr. *ī*, Irish *sī* = Goth. *si*, OHG. *sī*; and perhaps OHG. *siu* = Skr. *syā*. But many of the OHG. forms are new formations.

§ 437.

Masculine.

		OHG.	MHG.	NHG.
<i>Sing.</i>	Nom.	ēr, (<i>ir</i>)	ēr	er
	Acc.	inan, in	in	ihn
	Gen.	sīn	sīn, (<i>ēs</i>)	seiner, (<i>sein</i>)
	Dat.	imu, (<i>-o</i>)	im(<i>e</i>)	ihm
<i>Pl.</i>	Nom. Acc.	sie	sie, sī, si	sie
	Gen.	iro	ir(<i>e</i>)	ihrer
	Dat.	im, in	in	ihnen

Feminine.

<i>Sing.</i>	Nom.	siu; sī, si	siu; sī, si, sie	sie
	Acc.	sia, sie	sī, sī, sie	sie
	Gen.	ira; iru, (<i>-o</i>)	ir(<i>e</i>)	ihrer
	Dat.	iru, (<i>-o</i>)	ir(<i>e</i>)	ihr
<i>Pl.</i>	Nom. Acc.	sio	sie, sī, si	sie
	Gen.	iro	ir(<i>e</i>)	ihrer
	Dat.	im, in	in	ihnen

Neuter.

<i>Sing.</i>	Nom. Acc.	iz	ěz	es
	Gen.	is, ës	ës	seiner, (<i>sein</i>)
	Dat.	imu, (<i>-o</i>)	im(<i>e</i>)	ihm
<i>Pl.</i>	Nom. Acc.	siu	siu; sī, si, sie	sie
	Gen.	iro	ir(<i>e</i>)	ihrer
	Dat.	im, in	in	ihnen.

§ 438. Masculine sing. : The oldest form of the nom. is **ir** which is rare except in Isidor. The general form is **ër** with **ë** from **dër**. Beside **ër** some OHG. Franconian monuments have **hër**, **hē** = OE. **hē**, the instrumental case of which has been preserved in NHG. **heute** = OHG. **hiu-tu** from ***hiu tagu**. **in-an** with adjectival ending (§ 401) is the accented form. **in** came to be used for the accented and unaccented form in the ninth century. In NHG. it has been lengthened. The gen. of **ër** would be ***is**, but it disappeared in prehistoric HG., its place having been taken by the reflexive pronoun **sīn**. In MHG. the neut. **ës** was sometimes used for the masc. gen. The origin and use of NHG. *seiner* (*sein*) is parallel with that of *meiner* (*mein*), § 434.

In the dat. **imu** is the older form, which regularly became **imo** in the ninth century. **ime**, the weakened form of **imo**, regularly became **im** during the MHG. period, which has been lengthened to **ihm** in NHG. (§ 109).

§ 439. Feminine sing. : **siu** is the usual nom. form in the oldest HG. It is either the same word as Skr. **syá** or has its **iu** from the nom. fem. of the simple demonstrative pronoun (§ 449). **siu**, which would have become ***seu** in NHG., disappeared in late MHG. **sī**, **si** are not common until towards the end of the OHG. period, the former being the accented, and the latter the unaccented form. **sī**, which would have become ***sei** in NHG., disappeared in late MHG. NHG. **sie** is from MHG. **sie** or from the lengthened form of **si**. The OHG. acc. forms **sia**, **sie** were due to the influence of **dia**, **die** (§ 449). In late OHG. **sia** was sometimes used for the nom., and in MHG. the nom. was often used for the acc. and vice versa. NHG. acc. **sie** is of the same origin as the nominative.

In OHG. the gen. and dat. forms **ira**, **iru** (with original instrumental ending) often interchanged with each other

like the corresponding forms of the adjectives (§ 402). MHG. *ir(e)* is regularly developed from the corresponding OHG. forms. *ir(e)* became *ir* during the MHG. period (§ 171), which has been lengthened to *ihr* in NHG. The NHG. gen. *ihrer* is of the same origin as *meiner* (§ 434). The gen. *ihr* existed beside *ihrer* until about the end of the seventeenth century.

§ 440. Neuter sing. : In OHG. the regular form for the nom. and acc. is *iz*. In late OHG. and early MHG. *ëz* existed beside *iz*, the former being the unaccented and the latter the accented form. Then *iz* disappeared in MHG. and *ëz* = NHG. *es* became the accented form.

In the gen. *is* is the old accented form and *ës* the unaccented. *is* disappeared in late OHG. *ës* was rarely used in MHG.; and in NHG. it has only remained in such sentences as *ich bin es satt, zufrieden*, &c. The chief reason why *es* disappeared from general use was the fact that it fell together with the nom. acc. *es* (MHG. *ëz*) in late MHG. For the old gen. *is*, *ës*, the reflexive form *sīn* began to be used already in late OHG. In early MHG. *ës* was only used in reference to a sentence, and *sīn* in reference to a noun or a pronoun representing a noun. On *seiner* (*sein*) and the dat. forms see above.

§ 441. Plural : The nom. and acc. *sie*, *sio*, *siu* were special OHG. formations from the fem. sing. stem *si-*, to which were added the nom. pl. endings of the adjectives (§ 401). This took place in prehistoric HG. The fem. nom. acc. was first formed on analogy with the sing., and then this was followed by the formation of the masc. and neuter. *sie* was seldom used for the fem. pl. *sio* in OHG. In late OHG. *sie* was used for both the masc. fem. and neuter. On the other hand the original neut. form *siu* came to be used for the masc. and fem. in MHG. In late MHG. *sī* and *siu*, which would have become **sei* and **seu* in NHG., disappeared, and *sie* or the lengthened

form of **si** became NHG. **sie**. This is now also used for the second person. It was originally used in reference to plural abstract nouns like **eure gnaden**, and then, since the seventeenth century, it has come to be used for **ihr** generally, see § 434.

The gen. **iro** regularly became **ir** during the MHG. period (§ 171), which became lengthened to **ihr** in early NHG. (§ 103). **ihr** has regularly been replaced by **ihrer** with adjectival ending since the end of the seventeenth century.

Examples of **ihr** are: *Sind ihr nit zehn rein worden?* (Luther); *Es werden ihr sechs statt drei* (Opitz); but Goethe *ihrer fünfzig*. **ihr** is still preserved in NHG. before the gen. *aller*, as *Ihr aller glückwünsche empfang ich*. Beside the fem. gen. sing. and pl. **íro** there existed in OHG. **iró** with end accentuation. The former regularly became MHG. **ir(e)**, NHG. **ihr**, and the latter MHG. **iro**, and possibly NHG. **ihro** still used in Court and official language. It is more probable however that **ihro** is a NHG. formation after the analogy of the archaic form **dero** (§ 453). It is used for the second person masc. and fem., as *ihro eminenz, durchlaucht*; *Es hat ihro gnaden nicht gereut*; *ihro majestät gestatten gnädigst*; &c.

The dat. **im** became **in** in the ninth century. **in** then remained during the OHG. and MHG. period; but beside **in** there arose in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries **inen** with adjectival ending. The form **in** disappeared in early NHG. and **inen** regularly became **ihnen** in NHG. (§ 109).

2. REFLEXIVE.

§ 442. The reflexive pronoun originally referred to the chief person of the sentence (generally the subject), irrespectively as to whether the subject was the first, second, or third person singular or plural. This distinction has

remained in Sanskrit, but in the Germanic languages the pronouns of the first and second person came to be used reflexively already in prim. Germanic, and then the original reflexive pronoun became restricted to the third person.

§ 443.

Singular.

	OHG.	MHG.	NHG.
Acc.	sih	sich	sich
Gen.	sīn; ira	sīn; ir(e)	seiner, (sein); ihrer
Dat.	imu; iru	im(e); ir(e)	sich

Plural.

Acc.	sih	sich	sich
Gen.	iro	ir(e)	ihrer
Dat.	im, in	in	sich

§ 444. In prim. Germanic there existed the accented form **sek* beside the unaccented form **sik*. OHG. *sih* represents the latter. The *se* in **sek* corresponds to Gr. *ἐ*, Lat. *sē*, and the *k* is from the Indg. particle **ge* (§ 434). In late OHG. and in MHG. *sich* was sometimes used for the dat., especially after prepositions. In early NHG. *sich* came to be used for the dat. generally. All the forms, except *sich*, are the same as those of the personal pronoun third person (§ 437).

3. POSSESSIVE.

§ 445. In OHG. the possessive pronouns of the first and second persons were formed from the gen. case of the corresponding personal pronouns, thus *mīn*, *my*; *dīn*, *thy*; *unsēr*, *our*; *iuwēr*, *your*; and the masc. and neut. of the third pers. sing. was formed from *sīn*, *his*, *its*. These were all declined in OHG., as in MHG. and NHG., according to the strong declension of adjectives (§ 401). Note that the OHG. inflected forms of *unsēr*, *iuwēr* are: *unserēr*, *unseriu*, *unseraz*, &c.; *iuwerēr*, *iuweriu*, *iuweraz*,

&c. In OHG. and MHG. the uninflected forms were almost always used for the nom. sing. masc. and fem., and the nom. acc. neuter. In NHG. the nom. masc. sing. and the nom. acc. neut. sing. remain uninflected when used as possessive adjectives, but the fem. sing. is always inflected when used as a possessive adjective.

§ 446. The third pers. fem. sing. was expressed by *ira* (§ 437), lit. *of her*, and the third pers. pl., all genders, by *iro* (§ 437), *their*, lit. *of them*. *ira* and *iro* were uninflected in OHG., but in early MHG. they were often inflected on analogy with the other possessives, and from the fourteenth century onwards the inflected forms became general just as in NHG. *ihr*, *ihre*, *ihres*, pl. *ihre*.

§ 447. The possessive pronouns *der meinige*, *deinige*, *seinige*, &c., did not exist in MHG. They are NHG. formations with the adjectival suffix *-ig* (§ 322).

4. DEMONSTRATIVE.

§ 448. In the parent Indg. language the nom. sing. masc. and fem. of the simple demonstrative was **so*, **sā* = Gr. *ὁ*, *ἡ*, Goth. *sa*, *sō*. All the other cases of the sing. and pl. were formed from the stems *to-*, *tā-*, as acc. Gr. *τόν*, *τήν*, Lat. *is-tum*, *is-tam*, Goth. *þan-a*, *þō*; nom. pl. Gr. *τοί*, *ταί*, Lat. *is-tī*, *is-tae*, Goth. *þái*, *þōs*.

§ 449.

Masculine.

		OHG.	MHG.	NHG.
<i>Sing.</i>	Nom.	dēr	dēr	der
	Acc.	dēn	dēn	den
	Gen.	dēs	dēs	des, (dessen)
	Dat.	dēmu, (-o)	dēm(e)	dem
<i>Pl.</i>	Nom. Acc.	dē, dea, dia, die	die	die
	Gen.	dēro	dēr(e)	der, (deren, derer)
	Dat.	dēm, dēn	dēn	den, (denen)

Feminine.

		OHG.	MHG.	NHG.
<i>Sing.</i>	Nom.	diu	diu	die
	Acc.	dea, dia, die	die	die
	Gen.	dëra, dëru, (-o)	dër(e)	der, (deren, derer)
	Dat.	dëru, (-o)	dër(e)	der
<i>Pl.</i>	Nom. Acc.	deo, dio	die	die
	Gen.	dëro	dër(e)	der, (deren, derer)
	Dat.	dēm, dēn	dēn	den

Neuter.

<i>Sing.</i>	Nom. Acc.	daz	daz	das
	Gen.	dës	dës	des, (dessen)
	Dat.	dëmu, (-o)	dēm(e)	dem
	Instr.	diu		
<i>Pl.</i>	Nom. Acc.	diu	diu	die
	Gen.	dëro	dër(e)	der, (deren, derer)
	Dat.	dēm, dēn	dēn	den

§ 450. Masc. sing.: *dër* was formed from **pe* (the unaccented form of *pē* = OS. *thē*) + the nom. sign *r*, as in the pronoun *ër*. The acc. *dēn* beside Goth. *pan-a* has *ë* from the gen. *dës*. The gen. *dës* is from an Indg. form **teso* = Goth. *pis*. The dat. *dëmu* is from an old instrumental form **temō*. On forms like OHG. *zëmo*, *zēm*, MHG. *zēm(e)*, NHG. *zum*, see § 274.

§ 451. Fem. sing.: The OHG. and MHG. nom. *diu* had *iu* from the pronoun *siu* (§ 437). It would have become **deu* in NHG., but in MHG., especially in Middle German, the acc. form came to be used for the nom. and vice versa. NHG. *die* is the old acc. form. The oldest form of the

acc. must have been **pē* in prehistoric HG., which regularly became *dea*, *dia*, *die* during the OHG. period (§ 71). NHG. *die* is regularly developed from OHG. and MHG. *die*. The gen. *dëra* = Goth. *þizōs* is from an original form **tesās*. The dat. *dëru* is from an Indg. instrumental form **tesā* = prim. HG. **pezō*. In ninth-century OHG. the dat. form was often used for the gen., and in late OHG. *dëro* was regularly used for both cases, from which MHG. *dër(e)* and NHG. *der* are the normal development.

§ 452. Neut. sing.: The nom. and acc. *daz* = OE. *þæt*, Goth. *þat-a*, from an original form **tod* = Gr. *τό*, Lat. *is-tud*. The instr. *diu* from an original form **tjō* was used with nouns in the oldest HG., as *mit diu vuiru*, *with fire*. Beside the accented form *diu* there existed in OHG. and MHG. the unaccented forms *de*, *te*. The old instrumental has been preserved in NHG. *desto* (OHG. *dës diu*, later *dës de*, *te*, MHG. *dëste*). On the gen. and dat. forms, see above.

§ 453. Plural: The original form of the nom. masc. was **toi* = Gr. *τοί*, Lat. *is-tī*, Goth. *þái*. In unaccented syllables prim. Germanic **pai* became *pē* in prehistoric HG. This *ē*, which was close, fell together with prim. Germanic *ē* and regularly became *ea*, *ia*, *ie* during the OHG. period (§ 71). *dē* still occurred in the oldest HG. The MHG. and NHG. *die* is regularly developed from OHG. *die*.

The original form of the masc. acc. was **tons* = Gr. (Cretan dialect) *τόνς*, Goth. *þans*, but already in prehistoric HG. the nom. was used for the acc.

The nom. fem. *deo*, *dio* is from an original form **tjās* = Skr. *tyās*, prim. Germanic **þjōs*. *deo*, *dio* regularly became *die* during the OHG. period, whence MHG. and NHG. *die*. The original form of the acc. fem. was **tāns* = Gr. (Cretan dialect) *τάνς* with regular shortening

of the *ā*. But the nom. was used for the original acc. already in prim. Germanic.

The nom. acc. neut. *diu*, from an original form **tjō* = Vedic Skr. *tyā*, remained in OHG., but in MHG. the masc. form *die* came to be used for *diu*, and from the end of the MHG. period onwards *die* became the regular form.

The original form of the gen. pl. was **toisōm*, which in OHG. would have become **deiro* (= O.Icel. *þeira*, OE. *þāra*), but OHG. *dēro* has *ē* for *ei* from the gen. sing. *dēs*. *dēro* regularly became *dēr(e)* in MHG. and *der* in NHG. Beside OHG. *dēro* there also existed a form *dēró* with end accentuation, whence MHG. *dēro*, and NHG. *dero*, still used in legal and official language in reference to the third person and also occasionally in reference to the second, as *Ich ging vergnügt von der unterredung mit dem fürsten weg und werde dero herablassung nie vergessen; Geruhen Sie, mein haus zu beehren mit dero gegenwart.*

The original form of the dat. was probably **toimis* (instrumental) which became in prim. Germanic **þaimiz* = Goth. *þáim*, OE. *þæm*, OHG. *dēm*, *dēn*, cp. nom. pl. masc. *dē*. *dēm* became *dēn* in the ninth century, which was shortened to *dēn* in late OHG., whence MHG. *dēn* and NHG. *den*.

§ 454. The NHG. short forms *der*, *die*, *das*, &c., are unaccented when used as the def. article, and accented when used as pronouns. Beside the unaccented forms *der*, *die*, *das*, &c., there arose in the fifteenth century the accented forms *dessen*, *deren* (*derer*), *dessen* with adjectival endings. These new formations are not common in Luther. At first no difference in meaning or use existed between the short and lengthened forms. They were both in common use as cases of the def. article in the eighteenth century. But they gradually became differentiated in use and meaning. The lengthened forms are now

always used as pronouns. The gen. fem. sing. *derer* is now obsolescent. It is, however, sometimes used by the most modern novelists.

§ 455. The compound demonstrative pronoun '*dieser*' is composed of the simple demonstrative and the particle *se*. Originally the first element only was inflected, as nom. sing. masc. *dē-se*, gen. *dēs-se*, nom. pl. masc. *dē-se*. At a later period the *se* came to be inflected also, as gen. masc. sing. *dēs-ses*. And lastly the first element ceased to be inflected, and the second element took in most cases the ordinary endings of the simple demonstrative, as dat. *dē-semu*, &c. In those cases which had the ending *iu* in OHG., the *ë* of the stem became *i* in the ninth century. Then in the eleventh century the *i* was transferred to all the cases by levelling out the *di-* forms, as nom. *disēr* (*dirro*), *disiu*; gen. *disses*, *dirro*; dat. *disemo*, *dirro*; pl. masc. nom. acc. *dise*, &c., whence all the MHG. forms with *i*. In passing from MHG. to NHG. this *i* was regularly lengthened to *ī* written *ie* (§ 109).

In the masc. nom. sing., the fem. gen. and dat. sing., and the gen. pl., the *s* often became assimilated to the *r*, partly with loss of *e*, thus as early as the ninth century *dēsēr*, *dēsera*, *dēsēru*, *dēsero* became *dērēr*, *dērera* (*dërra*), *dērero* (*dërro*), whence the MHG. forms with *rr*. The MHG. masc. nom. sing. was an analogical formation after these forms.

§ 456.

Masculine.

		OHG.	MHG.	NHG.
<i>Sing.</i>	Nom.	<i>dēse</i> , <i>dēsēr</i>	<i>dirre</i>	<i>dieser</i>
	Acc.	<i>dēsan</i>	<i>disen</i>	<i>diesen</i>
	Gen.	<i>dēsses</i>	<i>dises</i>	<i>dieses</i>
	Dat.	<i>dēsemu</i> , (-o)	<i>disem(e)</i>	<i>diesem</i>
<i>Pl.</i>	Nom. Acc.	<i>dēse</i>	<i>dise</i>	<i>diese</i>
	Gen.	<i>dēsero</i>	<i>dirre</i>	<i>dieser</i>
	Dat.	<i>dēsēm</i> , (-ēn)	<i>disen</i>	<i>diesen</i>

Feminine.

		OHG.	MHG.	NHG.
<i>Sing.</i>	Nom.	dësiu, disiu	disiu	diese
	Acc.	dësa	dise	diese
	Gen.	dësera	dirre	dieser
	Dat.	dëseru	dirre	dieser
<i>Pl.</i>	Nom. Acc.	dëso	dise	diese
	Gen.	dësero	dirre	dieser
	Dat.	dësēm, (-ēn)	disen	diesen

Neuter.

<i>Sing.</i>	Nom. Acc.	diz	ditze, diz, diz	dieses, (dies)
	Gen.	dësses	dises	dieses
	Dat.	dësemu, (-o)	disem(e)	diesem
	Instr.	{ dësiu, dësu disiu, disu		
<i>Pl.</i>	Nom. Acc.	dësiu, disiu	disiu	diese
	Gen.	dësero	dirre	dieser
	Dat.	dësēm, (-ēn)	disen	diesen

§ 457. Masc. sing.: The nom. *dësēr* and acc. *dësan* have adjectival endings (§ 401). The real old gen. *dësse* is rare in OHG. It occurs occasionally in MHG. *disse* beside the usual form *dises* with single *s* from the acc. and dative. In OHG. *dësses* both elements are inflected, whence the double *ss*. The NHG. nom. *dieser* is a new formation with *s* from the other forms of the singular.

Instead of *dieses*, the usual gen. sing. masc. and neut., the form *diesen*, with the weak ending of adjectives, is sometimes used; and similarly *jenen*, *solchen* for *jenes*, *solches*. But such forms are not considered good German.

§ 458. Fem. sing.: In MHG. the acc. came to be used for the nom., whence NHG. nom. acc. *diese*. Beside the

usual MHG. form *dirre* there also existed *diser* with *s* from the nom. and acc., whence NHG. *dieser*.

§ 459. Neut. sing. : Nom. acc. *diz* from **petti* which by the assimilation of *ts* to *tt* may represent the O.Norse runic inscriptional form *patsi*. Beside *diz* there also existed in OHG. *dizi* (*thizi*), whence MHG. *diz* beside *ditze*. MHG. *diz* and late MHG. *disez* were new formations with adjectival endings (§ 401), whence NHG. *dies*, *dieses*. The old instrumental disappeared already during the OHG. period.

§ 460. Plural : All the cases of the plural have adjectival endings (§ 401). Beside the usual gen. *dirre* MHG. also had *diser*, whence NHG. *dieser*.

§ 461. In OHG. *jenēr* (MHG. *jener*) was declined like a strong adjective just as in NHG. Then as now it had no uninflected forms. In MHG. it was declined like a strong adjective even when preceded by the def. article (*dēr jener*), but in the fifteenth century it came to have also weak forms in this position (*der jene*), which occasionally occur down to the eighteenth century. From *der jene* was formed in the sixteenth century *der jenige* (written at first in two words) with the adjectival suffix *-ig* as in *der meinige*, &c.

§ 462. NHG. *selbst* (MHG. *sëlbes*) is an old gen. with excrescent *t* (§ 272), and *selber* (OHG. *sëlbēr*, MHG. *sëlber*) is the old nom. masc. singular. *selber* remains uninflected in NHG. except when used instead of *derselbe*. In OHG. and MHG. *sëlbe*, *ipse*, *self*, was regularly declined according to the strong and weak declension of adjectives. In conjunction with the def. art. it was declined weak as in NHG., as OHG. *dēr sëlbo*, *diu sëlba*, *daz sëlba* = NHG. *derselbe*, *dieselbe*, *dasselbe*. *derselbige* is a NHG. formation from *selb* with the adjectival suffix *-ig* (§ 322). In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it was far more common than *derselbe*, but it is now rarely if ever used.

§ 463. OHG. **solih**, MHG. **solich**, **solch** (inflected form **solher**) were declined like the strong declension of adjectives, but the nom. sing., all genders, generally remained uninflected. In NHG. **solch** is declined like a strong adjective when not preceded or followed by the indef. article. When followed by the def. art. it remains uninflected, but when preceded by it it is inflected like an ordinary adjective.

5. RELATIVE.

§ 464. A relative pronoun proper did not exist in prim. Germanic. The separate Germanic languages expressed it in various ways. In Goth. it was expressed by the simple demonstrative in combination with the relative particle **ei**; in OE. by the particle **þē** in combination with or without the simple demonstrative; and in O.Norse by the particles **sem** and **es** (later **er**) in combination with the simple demonstrative. In OHG. and MHG. it was generally expressed by the simple demonstrative as in NHG. See § 449.

For the first and second persons the rel. pronoun was expressed in OHG. and MHG. by the personal pronouns and the particles **dār**, **dā**, **dar**, as OHG. **Fater unser, dū dār bist in himile**. But in MHG. **dēr** also came to be used with the personal pronouns as in NHG., as *Vater unser, der du bist in himmel* (Luther).

The indefinite rel. was expressed in OHG. by **sō wër** **sō**, **sō wëlih** **sō**, *whoever*, **sō waz** **sō**, *whatever*. The second **sō** was omitted from the ninth century onwards, and **sō wër**, **sō wëlih**, **sō waz** became **swër**, **swëlich**, **swaz** in early MHG., but by the end of the MHG. period these pronouns had disappeared, and their place was taken by the simple interrogatives **wër**, **wëlich** (**wëlich**), **waz**, which came to be used as relatives in the fourteenth century. The old gen. **wes** was common in early NHG.,

as *Wes das herze voll ist, des gehet der mund über* (Luther). In late MHG. *sō* was also used as a rel. pronoun for the nom. and acc. sing. and pl., as *Von priesterlichem ampte, sō wir haben von gote*. It is very common in Luther and still often occurs in sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth century literature. It is now obsolete except in poetry, as *Heilig ist das gesetz, so dem künstler schönheit bietet* (Schiller). The details, concerning the use of the above words as relative pronouns in the various periods of the language, belong to syntax.

6. INTERROGATIVE.

§ 465. The parent Indg. language had two stems from which the interrogative pronoun was formed, viz. *qo-* and *qi-* with labialized *q* (§ 198). The former occurs in Gr. *πό-τερος*, *which of two?*, Goth. *hvas*, OE. *hwā*, *who?*, from an original form **qos*; Lat. *quod*, Goth. *hva*, OE. *hwæt*, OHG. *hwaz*, from an original form **qod*. And the latter occurs in Gr. *τίς*, Lat. *quis*, and possibly in OHG. *hwēr*, *who?*, from an original form **qis*.

§ 466. The OHG. simple interrogative pronoun had no independent forms for the feminine, and was declined in the singular only. The initial *h* disappeared in OHG. at the beginning of the ninth century (§ 278).

Masculine and Feminine.

	OHG.	MHG.	NHG.
Nom.	hwēr, wēr	wēr	wer
Acc.	hwēnan, wēnan, wēn	wēn	wen
Gen.	hwēs, wēs	wēs	wessen(wes)
Dat.	hwēmu, wēmo	wēm(e)	wem

Neuter.

Nom. Acc.	hwaz, waz	waz	was
Gen.	hwēs, wēs	wēs	wessen(wes)
Dat.	hwēmu, wēmo	wēm(e)	
Instr.	hwīu, wīu	wīu	

§ 467. From a comparison of OHG. *hwër*, *hwënan*, and *hwëmu* with the corresponding forms of the other Germanic languages, it is probable that the OHG. *ë* was due to levelling out the stem of the gen. *hwës* = Indg. **qeso*.

The acc. *hwënan* with adjectival ending regularly became *wën* in late OHG. On the lengthening of the *e* in NHG. *wer*, *wen*, *wem*, see §§ 103, 108. On the origin of NHG. *wessen*, see § 454. The old gen. *wes* is now seldom used. It occurs in *weshalb*, *weswegen*. The old dat. and acc. neut. when depending on a preposition are generally expressed in NHG. by *wozu*, *wovon*, *womit*, &c. *was für ein*, originally only acc., first occurs in the fifteenth century, and is very common in Luther. The instr. *wiu*, which would have become **weu* in NHG., disappeared in late MHG.

§ 468. OHG. *hwëlih* (MHG. *wëlich*), Goth. *hwileiks*, was formed from the pronominal stem *hwi-* (= Indg. **qi-*) and the suffix *-lih*. In OHG. it was declined like a strong adjective just as in MHG. and NHG.

7. INDEFINITE.

§ 469. From the list given below are omitted the pronouns which became obsolete in OHG. and MHG.

all, OHG. *al*, inflected form *allër*; *ander*, OHG. *ander*, inflected form *anderër*; *ein*, OHG. *ein*, inflected form *einër*; *einige*, OHG. *einīge*; *etlich*, MHG. *ëtelih*, now only used in pseudo-archaic language, supplanted by *einige* in the eighteenth century; *etwelcher*, OHG. *ëte-wëlih*, now practically obs.; *ganz*, OHG. and MHG. *ganz*, *unhurt*, *whole*, *sound*; *gesamt*, MHG. *gesament*, pp. of *samenen*, *to collect*, *gather*; *irgend einer*, where *irgend* = MHG. *iergen*, OHG. *io wergin*; *jeder*, in the eighteenth century also *ieder*, MHG. *ieder*, *iewëder*,

OHG. *iogiwëdar*, *each of both*, but in late MHG. it came to mean *each of any number*; at a later period *-er* was regarded as an adjectival ending, whence the NHG. inflected forms *jeder*, *jede*, *jedes*, &c.; *jedermann*, formerly written as two words with both elements inflected, as dat. *jederm manne*; *jedermanniglich*, nearly obs., a contamination of *jedermann* and *männiglich*; *jedweder*, obs. except in poetry, MHG. *iedewëder*, *each of two*; *jeglicher*, now only used in ceremonial language, MHG. *iegelicher*, *each*, where *gelich* = NHG. *gleich*; *jemand*, generally with acc. and dat. like the nom., the older dat. was *jemande*; since the eighteenth century also occur dat. *jemandem*, acc. *jemanden* with adjectival endings (similarly *niemand*), OHG. gen. *eomannes*, dat. *eomanne*, acc. *eomannan*; *kein* from older *nechein*, OHG. *nichein*, *not even one*: *ne* came to be felt as a negative particle, and was then omitted, whence *kein*; *lauter*, MHG. *lüter*, *bright*, *clear*, *transparent*; *manch*, *mancher*, MHG. *manec*, inflected form *maneger*; *männiglich*, which became obs. in the seventeenth century, has been restored again in pseudo-archaic style; OHG. *manno gilih*, *each man*, lit. *each of men*; *mehrere*, formed from *mehr* with double comparative suffix; *sämtlich*, formed from *samt* = MHG. *samet*, related to *samenen*, see *gesamt*; *viele* pl. of *viel* = MHG. *vil*; *welch*, *welcher*, OHG. *hwëlih*; *wenig* (pl. *wenige*), MHG. *wēnec*, inflected form *wēneger*; *wer*, OHG. *hwër*.

§ 470. *etwas*, MHG. *ëtwaz*, the neut. to MHG. *ëtwër*, *any one*; *man*, although *man* was used as an indef. pronoun in OHG. and MHG., its use differed from NHG. in so much as it could still take the def. or indef. article before it; *nichts*, still written *nichtes* until the beginning of the eighteenth century, is an old gen. which has been preserved in NHG. in *nichtswürdig*, *nichtsdestoweniger*; the use of *nichts* as nom. acc. arose in the fourteenth century from the combination *nihtesniht* = *nichts von nichts*, through

niht being regarded as a negative particle, whereas it was really a noun: OHG. **neowiht**, **niowiht**, later **niewiht**, **nieht**, lit. *never a being or thing*, gen. **neowihtes**, dat. **neowihte**. In late OHG. **nieht** came to be used as a simple negative, with the meaning *not*.

CHAPTER XVII

VERBS

§ 471. In the parent Indg. language the verbs were divided into two great classes: athematic and thematic. In the athematic verbs the personal endings were added to the bare root which had the strong grade form of ablaut in the singular, but the weak grade in the dual and plural. Thus for example the singular and plural of the verbs for '*to be*' and '*to go*' were: ***és-mi**, ***és-si**, ***és-ti**, ***s-més** or ***s-mós**, ***s-té**, ***s-énti**; ***éi-mi**, ***éi-si**, ***éi-ti**, ***i-més** or ***i-mós**, ***i-té**, ***j-énti**. Verbs of this class are often called **mi-verbs** because the first person singular ends in **-mi**. The Germanic languages have only preserved a few traces of the **mi-conjugation** (§ 541). Nearly all the verbal forms, which originally belonged to this class, passed over into the **ō-conjugation** in the prim. Germanic period.

In the thematic verbs the stem vowel, which could be either of the strong or weak grade of ablaut, remained unchanged throughout the present; in the former case they are called imperfect presents (as OHG. **biotan**, **nëman**, **ëzzan**, &c.), and in the latter case aorist presents (as OHG. **sūfan**, **backan**, &c.). The present was formed by means of the thematic vowels, **e**, **o**, which came between the root and the personal endings, thus the present singular and plural of the verb for '*to take*' was ***némō**

(from ***ném-o-a**), ***ném-e-si**, ***ném-e-ti**, ***ném-o-mes**, (-**mos**), ***ném-e-te**, ***ném-o-nti**. Verbs of this class are generally called **ō-verbs** because the first person singular ends in **-ō**. The old distinction between the **mi-** and the **ō-conjugation** was fairly well preserved in Greek, as *εἰμί, I am*, *εἶμι, I go*, *δίδωμι, I give*; *μένω, I remain*, *πείθω, I persuade*; *τρίβω, I rub*, *τύφω, I smoke*.

§ 472. In treating the history of the verbal forms in German it is advisable to start out partly from prim. Germanic and partly from the oldest OHG. The Indg. verbal system underwent so many radical changes in prim. Germanic that it would be necessary to treat here in detail the verbal system of the non-Germanic languages such as Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin in order to account for all the changes.

In the Germanic languages the verbs are divided into two great classes:—Strong and Weak. The strong verbs form their preterite (originally perfect) and past participle by means of ablaut (§ 185). The weak verbs form their preterite by the addition of a syllable containing a dental (Goth. **-da**, (**-ta**), OHG. **-ta**), and their past participle by means of a dental suffix (Goth. **-þ**, (**-t**), OHG. **-t**).

Besides these two great classes of strong and weak verbs, there are a few others which will be treated under the general heading of *Minor Groups*.

The strong verbs were originally further sub-divided into reduplicated and non-reduplicated verbs, as Goth. **haldan**, *to hold*, **lētan**, *to let*, preterite **haihald**, **laīlōt**; **niman**, *to take*, **hilpan**, *to help*, preterite **nam**, **halp**. In OHG. the reduplication entirely disappeared in the pre-historic period of the language. The non-reduplicated verbs are divided into six classes according to the six ablaut-series (§ 185). The originally reduplicated verbs are put together in this book and called Class VII.

§ 473. The OHG. verb has the following independent

forms:—one voice (active), two numbers, three persons, two tenses (present and preterite), two complete moods (indicative, and subjunctive, the latter originally the optative), besides an imperative which is only used in the present tense; three verbal nouns (present infinitive, present participle, and gerund), and one verbal adjective (the past participle).

A. STRONG VERBS.

§ 474. We are able to conjugate a strong verb in OHG. when we know the four stems, as seen (1) in the infinitive or first pers. sing. pres. indicative, (2) first pers. sing. pret. indicative, (3) first pers. pl. pret. indicative, (4) the past participle. The pret. subjunctive and the second pers. pret. indicative have the same stem vowel as the pret. pl. indicative. The conjugation of **nēman** will serve as a model for all strong verbs.

Present.

Indicative.

	OHG.	MHG.	NHG.
Sing. 1.	nimu	nime	nehme
2.	nimis, (-st)	nimest	nimmst
3.	nimit	nimet	nimmt
Plur. 1.	nēmēmēs, (-ēm, -ēn)	nēmen	nehmen
2.	nēmet	nēmet	nehm(e)t
3.	nēmant	nēment	nehmen

Subjunctive.

Sing. 1.	nēme	nēme	nehme
2.	nēmēs, (-st)	nēmest	nehmest
3.	nēme	nēme	nehme
Plur. 1.	nēmēm, (-ēn, -emēs)	nēmen	nehmen
2.	nēmēt	nēmēt	nehmet
3.	nēmēn	nēmen	nehmen

Imperative.

	OHG.	MHG.	NHG.
Sing. 2.	nīm	nīm	nimm
Plur. 1.	nēmēmēs, (-ēm, -ēn)	nēmen	
2.	nēmet	nēmet	nehm(e)t

Infinitive.

nēman	nēmen	nehmen
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Gerund.

Gen.	nēmannes	nēmennes
Dat.	nēmanne	nēmenne

Participle.

nēmanti	nēmende	nehmend
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Preterite.

Indicative.

	OHG.	MHG.	NHG.
Sing. 1.	nam	nam	nahm
2.	nāmi	nāme	nahmst
3.	nam	nam	nahm
Plur. 1.	nāmum, (-un, -umēs)	nāmen	nahmen
2.	nāmūt	nāmet	nahm(e)t
3.	nāmūn	nāmen	nahmen

Subjunctive.

Sing. 1.	nāmi	nāme	nähme
2.	nāmīs, (-st)	nāmet	nähmest
3.	nāmi	nāme	nähme
Plur. 1.	nāmīm, (-īn, -īmēs)	nāmen	nähmen
2.	nāmīt	nāmet	nähmet
3.	nāmīn	nāmen	nähmen

Participle.

ginoman	genomen	genommen
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THE ENDINGS OF STRONG VERBS.

§ 475. On the weakening of the endings in MHG. and NHG. see §§ 170-84.

§ 476. Pres. indic. : Indg. **nemō* regularly became *nimu* in OHG. (§§ 82, 162) and *nime* in MHG. (§ 170). Indg. **nemesi* would regularly have become **nimi* (§§ 55, 211) in OHG. through the intermediate stages **nemiz(i)*, **nimiz*. The retention of the *-s* may be partly due to those verbs which originally did not have the accent on the stem syllable (as the aorist presents), and partly to the pronoun, which was often attached enclitically to the verb. The ending *-st* arose partly from analogy with the preterite-present forms *kanst*, *scalt*, *weist*, &c., and partly from a false etymological division of the pronoun from the verb to which it was often attached enclitically, thus *nimisdu* became *nimistu*, from which *nimist* was extracted as the verbal form, see § 434, and cp. the similar process in OE. The ending *-st* was at first confined to the pres. indic. and then at a later period it became extended to the pres. and pret. subjunctive. On the loss of the *e* in NHG. *nimmst*, *nimmt*, see § 181. OHG. *nimit* is a regular development from Indg. **nemeti* through the intermediate stages **nemeþi*, **nemid(i)*, **nimid* (as in OS.). Indg. **nemomes* would regularly have become **nēmam* (= Goth. *nimam*), but the oldest OHG. form is *nēmamēs* (*nēmemēs*), the *-ēs* of which has not yet been satisfactorily explained. The ending *-ēs* belonged originally to the pres. indicative only, but in OHG. it was often extended to the first pers. plural of the other tenses and moods. And in like manner the ending *-ēm*, (*-ēn*), which properly belonged to the pres. subjunctive only, was often extended to the imperative and pres. indicative. *-en* came to be the usual ending in late OHG., whence the MHG. and NHG. ending. The original form of the second pers. plural was **nemete*,

which would regularly have become **nimit* in OHG. through the intermediate stages **nemepe*, **nemid(i)*, **nimid*. OHG. *nëmet* is a new formation which is not easy to account for. *nëmant* is regularly developed from the original form **nemonti* through the intermediate stages **nemonpi*, **nemand*, **nemand* (= Goth. *nimand*). In late MHG. the first pers. pl. came to be used for the third person, whence the NHG. ending.

§ 477. Pres. subj.: This tense is properly an old optative. The original forms of the singular and plural were: **nemoi*-, **nemois*, **nemoit*, **nemoim*-, **nemoite*, **nemoint*. The final *-t* was regularly dropped in prim. Germanic (§ 161) and the *oi* became *ai* during the same period (§ 44). Then *ai* became *ē* in prehistoric HG. and remained as *ē* when protected by a following consonant, but was shortened to *e* when final (§§ 162-3). OHG. *nēmēs* has *-s* from the pres. indicative, the regular form would be **nēme* (§ 211). The *ē* was shortened to *e* in MHG., whence NHG. *nehmen*, &c.

§ 478. Imperative: The original form of the second pers. singular was **neme*, which would regularly have become **nimi* in OHG. The final vowel disappeared in the prehistoric period of the language in all classes of strong verbs, as OHG. *stig*, *biut*, *bint* (*hulf*), *nim*, *gib*, *far*, *rāt*. The final vowel regularly disappeared after long stems, and then, after the analogy of verbs with long stems, it was also dropped in those with short stems (§ 162). In MHG. a final *-e* began to be added after the analogy of the weak verbs (§ 173), as *stige*, *binde*, *nime*, &c. In NHG. the second pers. singular may end in *e*, except *kommen*, *lassen*, and those verbs which still preserve the old interchange between *i* and *e* in the present (§ 181), as *steige*, *biete*, *binde*, *fahre*, *rate*, but *komm*, *lass*, *hulf*, *nimm*, *gib*. The plural endings are the same as the indicative. The first pers. plural began to disappear in the ninth cen-

tury, its place being taken by the pres. subjunctive, which at a later period became the general form.

§ 479. Pret. indic. : The original forms of the singular were **noma*, **nomtha*, **nome*, cp. Gr. *οἶδα*, *οἶσθα*, *οἶδε*. The form **noma* regularly became *nam* in OHG. (§ 162). **nomtha* would regularly have become **namt* through the intermediate stages **nomþa*, **namða*, **namd*. But in the West Germanic languages the old ending has only been preserved in the preterite-present verbs, as OHG. *weist*, *scalt*, *maht*, *muost*, &c. (§ 534). *nāmi* is properly an old aorist and corresponds to a prim. Germanic form **nāmez* which would have become **nām* in OHG. (§§ 70, 211). *nāmi* has its final *-i* after the analogy of verbs with short stem, as *stigi*, *buti*, &c. *nāmi* regularly became *næme* in MHG. (§ 79). Already in the twelfth century *næmes(t)* with *-s(t)* from the present began to appear beside *næme*, and then at a later period *næmest* was made into *nāmest* with *ā* from the plural, whence NHG. *nahmst*. The form with the ending *-e* disappeared in the fifteenth century. The original third pers. sing. **nome* would normally have become **nami* in OHG. *nam* is a new formation after the analogy of verbs with long stems, as *bant*, *half*, &c. It is difficult to say what the plural forms were in the parent language. Only so much is certain that the third pers. plural ended in *-nt* (with vocalic *n*) which regularly became *-un* in prim. Germanic (§§ 49, 161), the *u* was then levelled out into the first and second persons. The *-t* in *namut* is from the present. The *u* in the plural was weakened to *e* in MHG., whence the NHG. endings.

§ 480. Pret. subj. : The original endings were singular : *-jēm*, *-jēs*, *-jēt*, plural : *-īm*, *-īte*, *-īnt*, consisting of the optative element *-jē-*, (*-ī-*) and the personal endings. Already in prim. Germanic the *ī* of the plural was levelled out into the singular. The *ī* remained when protected by a following consonant, and was shortened to *i* when final (§§ 162-3).

OHG. *nāmi* for **nām* after the analogy of verbs with short stems, as *stigi*, *buti*, &c. (§ 162). The *i*, *i* were weakened to *e* in MHG., whence the NHG. endings.

GENERAL REMARKS ON THE STRONG VERBS.

§ 481. The interchange of consonants due to Verner's law (§ 221) began to be given up already in OHG. by levelling out one or other of the consonants. This process of levelling has been almost completely carried out in NHG. The following verbs amongst others have levelled out the consonant of the present and of the pret. first and third pers. singular : *finden*, *meiden*, *werden*, *genesen*, *lesen*, *gedeihen*, *leihen*, *sehen*, *verzeihen* ; and the following have levelled out the consonant of the pret. plural and past participle : *frieren*, *verlieren*, *war*, *schlagen*, *heben*.

§ 482. A certain number of originally strong and weak verbs have regularly fallen together in the present in NHG., as *bleichen* (MHG. *blichen* and *bleichen*), *schleifen* (MHG. *slifen* and *sleifen*), *schweigen* (MHG. *swigen* and *sweigen*), *weichen* (MHG. *wichen* and *weichen*), *pflügen* (MHG. *pflügen* and *pflügen*), *schmelzen* (MHG. *smälzen* and *smelzen*), *schwellen* (MHG. *swällen* and *swellen*), *verderben* (MHG. *verderben* and *verderben*), *löschen* (MHG. *lëschen* and *leschen*), *wiegen* (MHG. *wëgen* and *wegen*), *laden* (OHG. *ladan* and *ladōn*).

§ 483. Present indic. : In the pres. sing. of Class II the stem vowel of the plural has been levelled out into the singular in NHG., as *biete*, *bietest*, *bietet*, pl. *bieten*, MHG. *biute*, *biutest*, *biutet*, pl. *bieten*. In the verbs of Class III containing *e* in the infinitive, and of Classes IV and V, the first pers. sing. has been remodelled in NHG. on analogy with the inf. and the plural, as *helfe*, *nehme*, *gebe*, but MHG. *hilfe*, *nime*, *gibe*. The old interchange between *e* in the plural and *i* (§ 55, 2) in the second and third pers.

sing. has generally been preserved in NHG., as *hilft, nimmt, gibt, stiehlt, liest*, MHG. *hilfet, nimet, gibet, stilt, liset*. Whether the *i* in Classes IV and V has remained short or has been lengthened to *ī* (written *ie*) depends upon the following consonant (§ 105). In a few verbs the old interchange between *e* and *i* has been given up, as *bewegt, genest, melkt, pflegt, webt; wiegen*. When the stem ended in a dental, syncope of the *e* and loss of the final *t* in the third pers. sing. began to take place already in MHG. and has been carried to a great extent in NHG., as *gilt* (MHG. *gilt* beside *giltet*), *rät* (MHG. *ræt* beside *rætet*), *wird* (late OHG., MHG. *wirt* beside *wirdet*; contraction has also taken place in the second pers. sing. *wirst*), and similarly in *birst* beside *berstet*, *brät, ficht, flicht, hält, lädt, schilt, tritt*.

§ 484. Preterite indic.: In NHG. the vowel of the pret. plural has been levelled out into the singular in verbs belonging to Class I, as *schrieb, geschrieben; stritt, stritten*, MHG. *schreip, schriben; streit, striten*. In Class II the pret. is for the most part a new formation with *o* from the past participle, as *bog, bogen, gebogen*, MHG. *bouc, bugen, gebogen; sott, sotten, gesotten*, MHG. *sôt, suten, gesoten*. In Class III the vowel of the singular has been levelled out into the plural, as *band, banden*, MHG. *bant, bunden; half, halfen*, MHG. *half, hulfen*. The old distinction has been preserved in *ward, wurden*. In Classes IV and V the vowel of the plural has been levelled out into the singular, as *nahm, nahmen, stahl, stahlen*, MHG. *nam, nāmen, stal, stālen; gab, gaben, mass, massen*, MHG. *gap, gāben, maz, māzen*.

The second pers. singular is an old augmentless aorist like Greek *λίπες* (Homeric) beside ordinary classical Greek *ἔλιπες*. In OHG. the final *-i* regularly remained in verbs of Classes I and II where the stem syllable was short, as *stigi, buti, &c.* In Classes III–VII, *bunti, nāmi, gābi, fuori, slāfi*, the *i* (§ 162, 2) was due to the analogy of Classes

I and II. In MHG. the above forms regularly became *stige*, *büte*, *bünde*, *næme*, *gæbe*, *vüere*, *slæfe*. In NHG. the second pers. singular is a new formation from the other forms of the preterite, as *stiegst*, *botest*, *bandest*, &c.

The pret. indic. is morphologically an old perfect, which already in the oldest period of the German language was chiefly used to express the past tense. The perfect and pluperfect were generally expressed in OHG. by the past participle and one of the auxiliary verbs *habēn*, *eigan*, *to have*, and *wēsan*, *to be*, as *ēr habēt uns gizeigōt*, *he has shown us*; *thaz eigut ir gihōrit*, *that have ye heard*; *ēr ist quoman*, *he has come*; *ēr habēta funtan*, *he had found*. These tenses were generally expressed in MHG. by the past participle and *hān*, a contracted form of *haben*, or *sīn* = NHG. *sein*.

§ 485. Preterite subj.: The preterite subjunctive is originally an optative. In OHG., as in the other Germanic languages, it had the same stem form as the pret. pl. indicative. The first pers. sing. of the seven classes of strong verbs was *stigi*, *buti*, *bunti* (*hulfi*), *nāmi*, *gābi*, *fuori*, *riati* (*liofi*). These forms regularly became in MHG. *stige*, *büte*, *bünde* (*hülfe*), *næme*, *gæbe*, *vüere*, *riete* (*liefe*).

In classes I and VII the NHG. forms are normally developed from the corresponding MHG. forms, as *stiege*, *bliebe*, *miede*, *schriebe*, *bisse*, *griffe*, *litte*, *schnitte*, *stritte*, &c.; *riete*, *fiele*, *ginge*, *hielte*, *schliefe*, *liefe*, *riefe*, *stiesse*, &c. In class II the pret. subj., which would regularly have had *ü*, has been remodelled on analogy with the *o* in the pret. indic., as *böge*, *böte*, *flöge*, *flösse*, *schöbe*, &c. In class III the pret. subj. would regularly have *ü*. This *ü* has generally remained in verbs containing *r*+consonant, and in a few others, as *stürbe*, *verdürbe*, *würbe*, *würde*, *würfe*, but *bärge*, *bärste* beside *börste*; *hülfe*, *schünde* beside *hälfe*, *schände*. Those verbs in which the stem vowel of the pret. sing. indic. has been levelled out into the plural

generally have *ä*, as *bände*, *fände*, *schwände*, *wände*, *dränge*, *gelänge*, *sänge*, *sänke*, *tränke*, *zwänge*, &c., but *beföhle*, *empföhle*, *gölte*, and *schölte* beside *schälte*. Those verbs which have a double nasal generally have *ö*, or *ö* beside *ä*, as *begönne*, *glömme*, *klömme*, *spönne*; *gewönne*, *rönne*, *sönne*, *schwömmе*, beside *gewänne*, *ränne*, *sänne*, *schwämmе*. Those verbs which have *o* in the pret. indic. after the analogy of the past participle have *ö* in the pret. subj., as *föchte*, *flöchte*, *quölle*, *mölke*, *schwölle*, *schmölze*, &c. Classes IV and V regularly have *ä* from MHG. *æ*, as *nähme*, *bräche*, *gebäre*, *käme*, *spräche*, &c., but *stöhle* beside *stähle*; *ässe*, *bäte*, *läge*, *läse*, *sähe*, *träte*, &c. But those verbs which have *o* in the pret. indic., chiefly after the analogy of the past participle, have *ö*, as *schöre*, *schwöre* (inf. *schwären*); *pflöge*, *wöge*, *wöbe*. Verbs of class VI regularly have *ü* from MHG. *üe*, as *führe*, *grübe*, *schlüge*, *schwüre*, *trüge*, *wülsche*, &c., but *höbe*, *stände* beside *hübe*, *stünde* because of the pret. indic. *hob*, *stand*.

§ 486. Infinitive and Gerund: The infinitive was originally a nomen actionis, formed by means of various suffixes in the different Indg. languages. The suffix *-ono-*, to which was added the nom. and acc. neuter ending *-m*, became generalized in prim. Germanic, thus the original form was **nemonom*, which regularly became *nëman* in OHG. through the intermediate stages **nemonon*, **nëmana*. In prim. West Germanic the infinitive took a genitive and dative ending like an ordinary noun of the ja-declension (§ 363), whence OHG. *nëmannes*, *nëmanne*, MHG. *nëmennес*, *nëmenne* (§ 213). The MHG. dat. *ze nëmenne*, *lësenne*, &c. has become *nehmend-*, *lesend-* in NHG. See Syntax.

§ 487. Pres. Participle: In the parent language the stem of the pres. participle ended in *-nt*, as in Gr. *φέρωντ-*, Lat. *ferent-*. The *-nt* regularly became *-nt* in OHG. through the intermediate stages *-np*, *-nd*, *-nd* (=Goth.

nimands). The masculine and neuter were originally declined like consonant stems (§ 397). The nom. of the feminine ended in *-ī*, which was shortened to *-i* in prehistoric HG. (§ 162). The masculine and neuter became **ja-stems** in prehistoric OHG., and thus fell together with the nominative of the old feminine form, **nēmanti, gēbanti, &c.** The pres. participle was declined in OHG. like an ordinary adjective (§§ 401, 404), whence the MHG. and NHG. inflexions.

§ 488. Past Participle: The past participle was formed in various ways in the parent language. In the prim. Germanic period the suffix *-éno-*, *-óno-* became restricted to strong verbs, and the suffix *-to-* to weak verbs. In the strong verbs OE. and O.Icel. generalized the form *-éno-*, and Gothic and OHG. the form *-óno-*, thus **numonos* regularly became **numans** in Goth. and **gi-noman** in OHG.

In OHG. perfective verbs like **bringan, findan, quēman, wērdan** did not have the prefix **gi-** in the past participle, nor did verbs containing an unaccented prefix corresponding to NHG. **be-, ent-, er-, ge-, ver-, zer-, &c.** All other verbs generally had **gi-** in OHG. and **ge-** in MHG. In NHG. the principle has been generalized that all simple verbs with the accent on the first syllable take **ge-**, as *ge-stiegen, geboten, gekommen, gefunden, genommen, gebracht, &c.*, but *worden* (auxiliary) beside *geworden*; whence weak verbs ending in **-ieren** (**marschieren, &c.**) do not now have **ge-**, although they had it in MHG. And in like manner verbs with an inseparable prefix do not have it, as *erfunden, entnommen, verstanden, &c.*, but when the original prefix is no longer felt as such the verb takes **ge-**, as *geblieben* (MHG. **be-liben**), *gefressen* (Goth. **fra-itan**). A few verbs such as *missbilligen, missbrauchen, misshandeln, willfahren, &c.*, have or have not **ge-** in the past participle according as the first syllable is accented or unaccented.

§ 489. The history of the future, perfect and pluperfect

tenses, of the 'conditional' (*ich würde nehmen*), and of the formation of the passive voice, will be treated in the syntax.

THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE STRONG VERBS.

CLASS I.

§ 490. The verbs of this class belong to the first ablaut-series and therefore had in OHG. *ī* in all forms of the present, *ei* or *ē* in the first and third persons of the preterite singular (§ 75), and *i* in the preterite plural and past participle, thus :

OHG.	<i>ī</i>	<i>ei, (ē)</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>
MHG.	<i>ī</i>	<i>ei, (ē)</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>
NHG.	<i>ei</i>	<i>ie, (i)</i>	<i>ie, (i)</i>	<i>ie, (i)</i>

In passing from MHG. to NHG. *ī* regularly became *ei* (§ 125), and would therefore have fallen together with the *ei* in the pret. singular, but in NHG. the vowel of the pret. plural has been levelled out into the singular so as to keep the present and preterite distinct. The MHG. *i* has been regularly lengthened to *ie* before NHG. medial voiced consonants, but has remained short before medial voiceless consonants (§ 105). This process of levelling began already in the MHG. period and became more frequent in the fifteenth century. The old distinction between the singular and plural was still for the most part preserved in Luther's works, but in the seventeenth century the process of levelling had been completely carried out.

OHG.	<i>scriban</i>	<i>screib</i>	<i>scribum</i>	<i>giscriban</i>
MHG.	<i>schrīben</i>	<i>schreip</i>	<i>schriben</i>	<i>geschriben</i>
NHG.	<i>schreiben</i>	<i>schrieb</i>	<i>schrieben</i>	<i>geschrieben</i>

Similarly *bleiben* (MHG. *beliben*), *reiben*, *scheinen*, *steigen*,

treiben. In *meiden* the *d* of the present has been extended to all forms of the verb, cp. MHG. *mīden*, *meit*, *miten* (§ 221), *gemiten*. In *verweisen* (MHG. *verwīzen*) the *z* has become voiced (§ 264). The following verbs were originally weak, but began to have strong forms beside the weak already in MHG.: *preisen* (MHG. *prīsen*), *schweigen* (MHG. *swīgen*, OHG. *swīgēn*; OHG. and MHG. *sweigen*, the causative verb to OHG. **swīgan*), *weisen* (OHG. and MHG. *wīsen*), *beweisen*.

The following verbs have become weak in NHG.: *greinen* (MHG. *grīnen*); *neiden* (MHG. *nīden*, *neit*, *niten*, *geniten*), chiefly poetical, in the colloquial language it has been supplanted by *beneiden*; *neigen* (MHG. *nīgen*); *reihen* (MHG. *rīhen*).

§ 491. OHG. <i>dīhan</i>	<i>dēh</i>	<i>digum</i>	<i>gidigan</i>
MHG. <i>dīhen</i>	<i>dēch</i>	<i>digen</i>	<i>gedigen</i>
NHG. <i>gedeihen</i>	<i>gedieh</i>	<i>gediehen</i>	<i>gediehen</i>

The old past participle has been preserved in the adj. *gediegen*. In NHG. the *h* of the present has been extended to all forms of the verb, and the pret. and past participle have been formed after the analogy of verbs like *schreiben*; similarly in *verzeihen* (MHG. *zīhen*, *zēch*, *zigen*, *gezigen*); *leihen* (OHG. *līhan*, *lēh*, *liwum* (§ 221), *giliwan* beside the new formation *gilihan*; MHG. *līhen*, *lēch*, *lihen*, *gelihen*); *schreien* (MHG. *schriēn*, *schrei*, (*schrē*), *schrirn*, *geschrirn*; the second *r* in the pret. plural and pp. has never been satisfactorily explained), *schrie*, *geschrieen* are new formations. *speien* (OHG. *spīwan*, *spēo*, (*spē*), *spiwum*, *gispiwan*, MHG. *spī(w)en*, *spē*, (*spei*), *spiwen*, *gespiwen*), the NHG. pret. and past participle are new formations after the analogy of verbs like *schreiben*; formerly also weak forms *speite*, *gespeit* were in use. *sehen* (MHG. *sīhen*, (*sīgen*), *seic*, *sigen*, *gesigen*) has become weak.

§ 492. OHG.	strītan	streit	stritum	gistrītan
MHG.	strīten	streit	striten	gestriten
NHG.	streiten	stritt	stritten	gestritten

Similarly *gleiten*, *reiten*, *schreiten*; *erbleichen*, *schleichen*, *streichen*, *weichen*; *greifen*, *pfeifen*, *schleifen*; *sich befleissen* (MHG. *vlīzen*), *beissen*, *reissen*, *schleissen*, *schmeissen*; *leiden* (MHG. *liden*, *leit*, *liten*, *geliten*), *schneiden* (MHG. *snīden*, *sneit*, *sniten*, *gesniten*).

The following strong verbs have, or formerly had, weak preterites and past participles beside the strong: *bleichen*, *gleissen*, *gleiten*, *kneifen*, *spleissen*. *gleichen* (MHG. *gelichen*) was weak in MHG. and remained so until the seventeenth century.

CLASS II.

§ 493. The verbs of this class belong to the second ablaut-series and therefore had in OHG. *io* (§ 186) in the infinitive and the plural of the present indicative, *iu* in the pres. singular (§ 77), *ou* or *ō* in the first and third pers. of the pret. singular (§ 76), *u* in the pret. plural, and *o* in the past participle, thus:

OHG.	<i>io</i>	<i>iu</i>	<i>ou, (ō)</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>o</i>
MHG.	<i>ie</i>	<i>iu</i>	<i>ou, (ō)</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>o</i>
NHG.	<i>ie</i>	<i>ie</i>	<i>ö</i>	<i>ö</i>	<i>ö</i>

In NHG. the *ie* of the pres. singular is due to levelling out the stem vowel of the plural. The normal development of MHG. *iu* is *eu* in NHG., which regularly occurs in the verbs of this class in Luther (*fliegt*, *flucht* (inf. *fliehen*), *kreucht*, *reucht* (inf. *riechen*), *zeucht*, &c.), and is also often found in the literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Modern German preterite is a new formation with *ö* from the past participle, formed in the same manner as Modern English *chose*, *froze* from *chosen*, *frozen*. But already in the MHG. period the

pret. plural was often written with *o* in Middle German, because in this dialect *u* and *o* closely resembled each other in sound. This may also have been a factor in bringing about the form of the NHG. preterite through the vowel of the plural being levelled out into the singular. This process of levelling began in late MHG., became more frequent in the fifteenth century, and was practically complete by the beginning of the seventeenth century. In Modern German the *o* is long when followed by a medial voiced consonant, and generally short when followed by a medial voiceless consonant.

OHG.	biogan	biugu	boug	bugum	gibogan
MHG.	biegen	biuge	bouc	bugen	gebogen
NHG.	biegen	biege	bog	bogen	gebogen

Similarly *fliegen*, *klieben*, *kriechen*, *riechen*, *schieben*, *stieben*. *triefen* has weak preterite and past participle beside the strong. *lügen* (MHG. *liegen*, *liuge*, *liugest*, *liuget*, pl. *liegen*) was formed from the noun *lüge* about the middle of the seventeenth century. The old forms *leugst*, *leugt* often occur down to the eighteenth century. *trügen* (*betrügen*) is a late Modern German new formation from association with *lügen* and the noun *trug*. *triegen* was still the usual form in the eighteenth century. The following verbs have become weak: *schmiegen*, *bläuen* with *äu* from association with *blau* in *blau schlagen* (MHG. *bliuwen*, *bliuwe*, *blou*, *blūwen*, *geblūwen*), *reuen* (MHG. *riuwen*), *brauen* (MHG. *briuwen* beside *brūwen* with *ū* from Middle German, § 126), *kauen*, rarely *käuen*, cp. *wiederkäuen* (MHG. *kiuwen* beside *kūwen*).

§ 494. Here belong also the old aorist presents with weak grade vowel in all forms of the present.

OHG.	sūfan	souf	suffum	gisoffan
MHG.	sūfen	souf	suffen	gesoffen
NHG.	saufen	soff	soffen	gesoffen

Saugen (MHG. *sügen*) has weak preterite and past participle beside the strong; similarly *schrauben* (late MHG. *schrüben*), properly a weak verb, but also in MHG. with strong and weak preterite and past participle, the pp. (*verschroben*) is always strong; *schnauben* (MHG. *snüben*, generally weak, but also sometimes strong).

§ 495.	OHG.	biotan	biutu	bōt	butum	gibotan
	MHG.	bieten	biute	bōt	buten	geboten
	NHG.	bieten	biete	bot	boten	geboten

Similarly, but with short *o* in the preterite and past participle: *fliessen* (MHG. *vliezen*), *giessen*, *geniessen*, *schiessen*, *schliessen*, *spriessen*, *verdrriessen*. *ziehen* (MHG. *ziehen*, *zōch*, *zugen*, *gezogen*, § 221), *fliehen* (MHG. *vliehen*, *vlōch*, *vluhen* (OHG. *fluhum*), *gevlohen* (OHG. *giflohan*)) with *h* for *g* in the pret. plural and past participle from the present. *sieden* (MHG. *sieden*, *sōt*, *suten*, *gesoten*) has strong and weak preterite and past participle. *frieren* (MHG. *vriesen*, *vrōs*, *vrurn*, *gevrorn*, § 221) has its second *r* from the pret. plural and past participle, and similarly in *verlieren* (MHG. *verliesen*). *kiesen* (MHG. *kiesen*, *kōs*, *kurn*, *gekorn*). *niesen* (MHG. *niesen*) has become weak.

CLASS III.

§ 496. The verbs of this class belong to the third ablaut-series, and include the strong verbs having a medial nasal or liquid + consonant, and a few others in which the vowel is followed by two consonants other than nasal or liquid + consonant.

Verbs with nasal + consonant had in OHG. *i* in the infinitive and throughout the present (§ 55), and *u* in the past participle (§ 57); the others had *i* in the pres. singular (§§ 55, 62), *ë* in the infinitive and pres. plural, and *o* in the

past participle. All verbs of this class had **a** in the pret. singular and **u** in the pret. plural.

OHG.	i, (ë)	i	a	u	u, (o)
MHG.	i, (ë)	i	a	u	u, (o)
NHG.	i, (e)	i, (e)	a	a	u, (o)

Verbs with nasal + consonant still have **i** in NHG. in all forms of the present. The other strong verbs belonging to this class have preserved the **i** in the second and third pers. singular of the present, but the first pers. singular has **e** after the analogy of the other forms of the present. The **i** (*ich hilfe*) was still common in the sixteenth century, but **e** became more frequent in the seventeenth century, and in the eighteenth century it became the rule as in German of the present day.

Levelling began to take place in the preterite in late MHG. and early NHG. Sometimes the vowel of the singular was taken into the plural and vice versa. The distinction between the vowel of the singular and plural (*band, bunden*) is fairly general in Luther's works. Levelling out in both directions was common down to the eighteenth century: **band, banden; bund, bunden**. In late NHG. the vowel of the singular has, with one or two exceptions, been generalized.

In NHG. the **u** has become **o** in the past participle of verbs containing two nasals (§ 97).

OHG.	bintan	bant	buntum	gibuntan
MHG.	binden	bant	bunden	gebunden
NHG.	binden	band	banden	gebunden

Similarly *dringen, gelingen, klingen, ringen, schinden* (pret. also *schund* with levelling out of the old plural), *schlingen, schwinden, schwingen, sinken, springen, stinken, trinken, winden, zwingen*. The past participle of *finden* did not have the prefix **ge-** in OHG. and MHG. (*funtan,*

vunden). The pret. and past participle of *bringen* were generally weak in OHG. (**brāhta, gibrāht**). *bedingen* and *dingen*, which were originally weak, have strong pret. and past participle beside the weak. *hinken* has become weak.

§ 497. *rinnen* (past participle NHG. *geronnen*, MHG. *gerunnen*, OHG. *girunnan*), and similarly *entrinnen*, *sinnen*, *schwimmen*, *spinnen*, *gewinnen*. *glimmen*, pret. *glomm* with **o** from the past participle, has weak pret. and past participle beside the strong, and similarly *klimmen*. *beginnen* (pret. OHG. **bigan** beside **bigonda**, MHG. **began** beside **begunde**) and *besinnen*, which formerly fluctuated between strong and weak forms, have now strong forms only. *grimmen* (*ergrimmen*) has become weak.

§ 498.	OHG.	helfan	hilfu	half	hulfum	giholfan
	MHG.	helfen	hilfe	half	hulfen	geholfen
	NHG.	helfen	helfe	half	halfen	geholfen

Similarly *bergen*, *gelten*, *schelten*, *sterben*, *verderben*, *werben*, *werfen*. The two last verbs were evolved out of one verb already in OHG. by levelling out in different directions. The regular forms were **wërfan**, **wirfu**, **warf**, **wurbum**, **giworban** (§ 221). *werfen* is due to the levelling out of the **f** and *werben* to the levelling out of the **b**, and then at a later period they became differentiated in meaning. *werden* (OHG. **wërdan**, **wirdu**, **ward**, **wurtum**, **wortan** late OHG. **worden**) has levelled out the forms with **d**, and now takes the prefix **ge-** in the past participle when used as a principal verb. It is the only verb which has preserved the old distinction between the preterite singular and plural. The pret. singular form *wurde* has the ending of a weak verb.

§ 499. *befehlen* (OHG. **bifēlhan**, **bifilhu**, **bifalh**, **bifulhum**, **bifolhan** with **h** in the pret. plural and past participle by levelling, § 221). The **h** disappeared after the **l** at an

early period (§ 283). This loss of *h* caused the stem vowel to be in an open syllable, which accounts for the long vowel in all forms of the verb (§ 108), and similarly *empfehlen*.

§ 500. *quellen*, pret. *quoll* (MHG. *qual*, *quullen*, OHG. *qual*, *quillum*) with *o* from the past participle, and similarly *melken* (with strong and weak pret. and past participle), *schmelzen*, *schwellen*. *bellen* is now weak, but it formerly had a strong preterite *boll*, and past participle *gebollen*. The old strong verb *schellen* has been replaced by the denominative weak verb *schallen*, but beside *schallte*, *geschallt*, we also have the old strong forms *(er)scholl*, *(er)schollen*, *verschollen*.

§ 501. *verwirren* (MHG. *verwërren*) with *i* from the present singular has become weak, but the old past participle has been preserved in the isolated form *verworren*. *gellen* (MHG. *gëllen*), *schmerzen* (MHG. *smërzen*), *schwelgen* (MHG. *swëlhen*, *swëlgen* with *g* from the pret. pl. and past participle) have become weak.

§ 502.

OHG.

brëstan	bristu	brast	brustum	gibrostan
drëskan	drisku	drask	druskum	gidroskan
fëhtan	fihtu	faht	fuhtum	gifohtan
fiëhtan	fihtu	flaht	fluhtum	giflohtan
irlëskan	irlisku	irlask	irluskum	irloskan

MHG.

brësten	briste	brast	brästen	gebrosten
drëschen	drische	drasch	dräschen	gedroschen
vëhten	vihte	vaht	vähten	gevohten
vlëhten	vlihte	vlaht	vlähten	gevlohten
erlëschen	erliche	erlasch	erläschen	erloschen

NHG.

bersten	berste	barst } borst }	barsten } borsten }	geborsten
dreschen	dresche	drasch } drosch }	draschen } droschen }	gedroschen
fechten	fechte	focht	fochten	gefochten
flechten	flechte	flocht	flochten	geflochten
erlöschen	erlösche	erlosch	erloschen	erloschen

The only difference between the OHG. forms of the above verbs and those of class IV is the vowel of the pret. plural. In MHG., and also partly in OHG., the pret. plural was remodelled on the analogy of verbs of class IV. The *o* in the preterite of the NHG. forms is from the past participle. On the *ö* in *erlöschen*, cp. § 92. The *r* in *bersten* has undergone metathesis.

CLASS IV.

§ 503. The verbs of this class belong to the fourth ablaut-series, which includes the strong verbs whose stems end in a single liquid or nasal, and a few others. They had in OHG. *ë* in the infinitive and present plural, *i* in the pres. singular, *a* in the pret. first and third pers. singular, *ā* in the pret. plural, and *o* in the past participle.

OHG.	ë	i	a	ā	o
MHG.	ë	i	a	ā	o
NHG.	ë	ě, (ie, i)	ā	ā	ö

The history of the pres. singular is similar to that of verbs of class III with *e* in the infinitive. That is, in NHG. the first pers. singular has *ē* or *e* (*stehle*, *breche*) and the second and third pers. have *ie* or *i* (*stiehlt*, *bricht*). In passing from MHG. to NHG. the vowel of the pret. plural has been levelled out into the singular.

OHG. stēlan	stilu	stal	stālum	gistolan
MHG. stēln	stil(e)	stal	stālen	gestoln
NHG. stehlen	stehle	stahl	stahlen	gestohlen

Similarly *gebären*, *nehmen* (*nimmt*, *genommen*, § 114), *scheren* (pret. *schor*), *schwären* (pret. *schwor*). The preterites *schor* and *schwor* have *o* from the past participle just as in Modern English *bore*, *stole*, *tore*.

§ 504. *brechen* (MHG. *brēchen*, *briche*, *brach*, *brāchen*, *gebrochen*), and similarly *schrecken*, *erschrecken*, *sprechen*, *stechen*, *treffen*.

§ 505. In OHG. *quēman*, *quimu*, *quam*, *quāmum*, *quoman* (*quēman*), the combinations *quē-*, *qui-* became *ko-*, *ku-*, whence late OHG. inf. and pp. *komen*, and pres. first pers. singular *kumu*. At a later period the *k* was extended to all forms of the verb: MHG. *komen*, *kumu*, *kam* (*quam*), *kāmen* (*quāmen*), *komen*, and NHG. *kommen*, *komme* (a new formation from *kommen*), *kam*, *kamen*, *gekommen*.

§ 506. *rāchen* (MHG. *rēchen*) is now weak, but the old past participle *gerochen* is still sometimes used in poetical language. The old strong past participle of *verhehlen* (MHG. *verhēln*, OHG. *firhēlan*) has been preserved in the isolated form *verhohlen*. *entbehren* (MHG. *en(t)bērn*) and *ziemen* (MHG. *zēmen*) have become weak. *ziemen* has been formed from the singular *ziemt* (MHG. *zimet*) owing to the verb being mostly used in the third pers. singular. *stecken* is properly a weak verb, but it has a strong pret. *stack* beside the weak, and it formerly had the strong forms *stickt*, *gestocken*.

CLASS V.

§ 507. The verbs of this class belong to the fifth ablaut-series. It includes the strong verbs which contain *e* in the past participle, and whose stems end in other

consonants than those in classes III and IV. The only difference between classes IV and V is that the past participle of the former has *o* and of the latter *e*, thus:—

OHG.	ë	i	a	ā	ë
MHG.	ë	i	a	ā	ë
NHG.	ë	ě, (ie, i)	ā	ā	ě

The history of the present and preterite is the same as in class IV.

OHG.	gëban	gibu	gab	gābum	gigëban
MHG.	gëben	gibe	gap	gāben	gegëben
NHG.	geben	gebe	gab	gaben	gegeben

Similarly *sehen* (OHG. *sëhan*), *geschehen* (OHG. *giskëhan*), *treten*. The *h* in *sëhan*, *giskëhan* was levelled out to the pret. plural and past participle already in OHG., cp. § 221. The NHG. pret. sing. *sah*, *geschah* (MHG. *sach*, *geschach*) are new formations from the stem forms of the plural. *lesen* (OHG. *lësan*, *lisu*, *las*, *lārum* beside *lāsum*, *gilëran* beside *gilësan*, MHG. *lāren* beside *lāsen*, *gelern* (rare) beside *gelësen*) has levelled out the *s*, and similarly in *genesen*, which has in addition become weak in the present (*geneset*, *genest*). *war* with levelling out the plural form *waren*; the past participle of this verb did not exist in OHG. MHG. *gewësen* = NHG. *gewesen* is a new formation from the infinitive. *jäten*, also in form *gäten* (MHG. *jëten*), and *kneten* (MHG. *knëten*) have become weak.

§ 508.

OHG.	wëgan	wigu	wag	wāgum	giwëgan
MHG.	wëgen	wige	wac	wāgen	gewëgen
NHG.	wāgen } wiegen }	wäge } wiege }	wog	wogen	gewogen

The *ä* in *wāgen* is due to association with the noun *wage*, *wiegen* is a new formation from the singular

(MHG. *wiget*) owing to its being chiefly used in the third pers. singular, cp. *ziemen* (§ 506). MHG. *ā* became *ō* in NHG. through the influence of the *w* (§ 118), and then the vowel of the plural was levelled out into the singular, as in the other verbs of this class, and at a later period it was extended to the past participle. The old past participle is still preserved in the isolated form *verwegen*. Similarly *bewegen*, *erwägen*, *weben*. *pflegen* went over into class IV (past participle *gepflogen* beside *gepflegen*) already in MHG., whence NHG. preterite *pflog* (older *pflag*) with *o* from the past participle. *gären* (MHG. *jēsen*, *gise*, *jas*, *jāren*, *gejörn*). In MHG. the *g* only occurred in forms with *i* (as *gise*, *giset*), in NHG. the *g* has been generalized, partly due to association with the noun *gare* (*gäre*). In like manner the *r* of the preterite plural and past participle has been generalized. All the verbs in this paragraph have become weak in the present and have weak beside the strong forms in the preterite and past participle.

§ 509.

OHG.	mēzzan	mizzu	maz	māzum	gimēzzan
MHG.	mēzzēn	mizze	maz	māzen	gemēzzēn
NHG.	messen	messe	mass	massen	gemessen

Similarly *essen* (MHG. *ēzzēn*, *āz*, *āzen*, *gēzzēn*), past participle *gegessen* with double *ge-*, *fressen* (MHG. *vrēzzēn*, *vrāz*, *vrāzen*, pp. *vrēzzēn*), *vergessen*. *essen* and *fressen* had a long vowel in the pret. singular already in prim. Germanic. The long vowel arose from the contraction of the old reduplicated syllable *e* with the stem vowel, cp. Goth. *fr-ēt*, O.Icel. OS. *āt*, OE. *ǣt*, Lat. *ēdī*.

§ 510. To this class also belong *bitten*, *liegen*, *sitzen*, which originally had *j* in the present (§ 213), and were inflected in the present like a weak verb of class I (§ 527). *bitten* (OHG. *bitten*, *bittu*, *bat*, *bātum*, *gibētan*). This verb is properly an aorist present and originally belonged

to class I, but it passed over into class V in the prim. Germanic period, cp. Gr. $\pi\epsilon\iota\theta\omega$, *I persuade*, aorist $\epsilon\pi\iota\theta\omicron\nu$. *liegen* (OHG. *liggen*, *liggu*, *lag*, *lāgum*, *gilēgan*) had single *g* in the present already in MHG. (*ligen*) after the analogy of the second and third pers. singular and of the other forms of the verb where single *g* was regular. *sitzen* (OHG. *sitzen*, *sitzu*, *saz*, *sāzum*, *gisēzzan*).

CLASS VI.

§ 511. The verbs of this class belong to the sixth ablaut-series, and had in OHG. *a* in the infinitive and past participle, and *uo* in the pret. sing. and plural. They had umlaut in the second and third pers. sing. of the present, as *feris*, *ferit*.

OHG.	<i>faran</i>	<i>fuor</i>	<i>fuorum</i>	<i>gifaran</i>
MHG.	<i>varn</i>	<i>vuor</i>	<i>vuoren</i>	<i>gevarn</i>
NHG.	<i>fahren</i>	<i>fuhr</i>	<i>fuhren</i>	<i>gefahren</i>

Similarly *graben*, *tragen*, *wachsen*, *waschen*, the last two verbs with short *a* through being in a closed syllable. *schlagen* (OHG. *slahan*, *sluoh* (also *sluog*), *sluogum*, *gislagan*, § 221) with *g* from the pret. plural and past participle. OHG. *stantan*, *stuont* (rarely *stuot*), *stuontum* (rarely *stuotum*), *gistantan*, MHG. *standen* (*stēn*, *stān*), *stuont*, *stuonten*, *gestanden*. Already in MHG. *standen* began to be supplanted by *stēn* = NHG. *stehen*. The *n* belonged originally to the present only, cp. English *stand*, *stood*, and verbs like Lat. *frangō*, *frēgī*. Early NHG. *stund*, *stunden* became *stand*, *stunden* after the analogy of early NHG. *band*, *bunden* (§ 496), and then later *stand*, *standen* by levelling out the form of the singular. NHG. *backen* had two forms in the present in OHG.: *bachu*, *I bake*, with *ch* levelled out from the non-present forms, and *backu* = prim. Germanic **bakkō* (Indg.

**bhægnō*, § 202). In OHG. the *ck* only belonged to the present, whence *bachan* beside *backan*, *buoh*, *buochum*, *gibachan*, MHG. *bachen* beside *backen*, *buoch*, *buochen*, *gebachen*. In NHG. the *ck* has been taken into all forms of the verb, but the old preterite *buch* was still in use in early NHG. Beside the strong preterite we have now also the weak preterite *backte*. Two distinct OHG. verbs have fallen together in NHG. *laden*, viz. OHG. *ladan*, *to load*, and the weak verb *ladōn*, *to invite*. The former began to have weak and the latter to have strong forms in MHG. In NHG. *laden* has strong beside weak forms in the present and preterite (*lädst*, *lädt*, *lud* beside *ladest*, *ladet*, *ladete*). *mahlen*, *to grind*, has become weak except in the past participle *gemahlen*. *nagen*, *schaben* (with old past participle preserved in the isolated form *abgeschaben*), *waten* have become weak. *fragen* was a weak verb in OHG. (*frāgēn*) and MHG. (*vrāgen*), but it now has strong beside weak forms in the present and preterite.

§ 512. To this class also belong *heben*, *schaffen*, and *schwören*, which originally had *j* in the present and were inflected in the present like a weak verb of Class I (§ 527). *heben* (OHG. *heffen* (Goth. *hafjan*), *huob*, *huobum*, *-haban*). The *b* belonged originally to the pret. plural and past participle only, but already in OHG. it was extended to the pret. singular and in MHG. to the present, whence MHG. *heben*, *huop*, *huoben*, *gehaben*. The NHG. preterite *hob*, past participle *gehoben*, for older *hub*, *gehaben*, have been remodelled on analogy with verbs like *wob*, *gewoben* (§ 508). The old past participle has been preserved in the isolated form *erhaben*. *schaffen*, *to create* (OHG. *skepfen* (Goth. *ga-skapjan*), *skuof*, *skuofum*, *giskaffan*). Already in OHG. a new infinitive *skaffan* was formed from the past participle, whence MHG. and NHG. *schaffen*. The NHG. weak verb *schaffen*, *to do, work*, is from the OHG. weak verb *skaffōn*. *schöpfen*

(OHG. *skepfen*, MHG. *schepfen*) has become weak. *schwören* (OHG. *swerien*, *swuor*, *swuorum*, *gisworan*, with *o* from older *a* through the influence of the preceding *w*). The NHG. pret. *schwor* beside the regular form *schwur* has its *o* from the past participle.

CLASS VII.

§ 513. To this class belong those verbs which originally had reduplicated preterites, like Gothic *haihald*, *laīlōt*, *faīflōk*, *haihāit*, inf. *haldan*, *to hold*, *lētan*, *to let*, *flōkan*, *to complain*, *hāitan*, *to call*. This class of verbs is divided into two sub-divisions according as the preterite had *ia* (older *ē*, *ea*, § 71) or *io* in OHG. *ia* and *io* fell together in *ie* in late OHG. (§§ 71, 77). Much has been written about the stem vowel in the preterite of these verbs in OHG., but little or nothing is really known of how it came about. It is usually assumed to be due to the old reduplicated syllable having undergone contraction with the stem syllable, but this assumption leaves many phonological difficulties unexplained. The preterite sing. and plural have in all periods of the language the same stem vowel. Verbs, which in OHG. had *a*, *ā*, or *ei* in the present, had *ia* in the preterite, and those which had *ou*, (*ō*), § 76, *uo* in the present had *io* in the preterite. With the exception of *fāhan*, *hāhan*, the past participle had the same stem vowel as the present.

§ 514.	OHG.	<i>haltan</i>	<i>hialt</i>	<i>gihaltan</i>
	MHG.	<i>halten</i>	<i>hielt</i>	<i>gehalten</i>
	NHG.	<i>halten</i>	<i>hielt</i>	<i>gehalten</i>

Similarly *fallen*. OHG. *gangan*, *giang*, *gigangan*: the present was supplanted by *gēn* (*gān*) (= NHG. *gehen*) in MHG. NHG. *ging* has been shortened from older *gieng* (§ 139). *salzen* has become weak except in the past parti-

ciple *gesalzen*. *falten* and *spalten* have become weak in the present and preterite, but in the past participle they have strong beside weak forms. *bannen* (*verbannen*), *schalten*, *spannen*, *umhalsen*, *walken*, *wallen*, *walten*, and *walzen* have become weak.

§ 515. OHG.	<i>rātan</i>	<i>riat</i>	<i>girātan</i>
MHG.	<i>rāten</i>	<i>riet</i>	<i>gerāten</i>
NHG.	<i>raten</i>	<i>riet</i>	<i>geraten</i>

Similarly *blasen*, *lassen* (§ 139), *schlafen*. In NHG. *braten* has weak pres. and preterite beside the strong. OHG. *fāhan* (§ 54), *fiang*, *gifangan*, MHG. *vāhen*, *vienc* (pl. *viengen*), *gevangen*. In NHG. the inf. *fangen* is a new formation from the past participle; this took place in the Middle German dialect in the MHG. period. NHG. *fiŋg* has been shortened from older *fieng* (§ 139). Similarly *hangen* (OHG. *hāhan*, *hiang*, *gihangen*).

§ 516. OHG.	<i>heizan</i>	<i>hiaz</i>	<i>giheizan</i>
MHG.	<i>heizen</i>	<i>hiez</i>	<i>geheizen</i>
NHG.	<i>heissen</i>	<i>hiess</i>	<i>geheissen</i>

geschieden, the past participle of *scheiden*, is a new formation after the analogy of verbs like *schreiben* (§ 490); the old past participle has been preserved in the isolated form *bescheiden*. *schweifen* (OHG. *sweifan*) has become weak.

§ 517. *stossen* (OHG. *stōzan*, *stioz*, *gistōzan*, MHG. *stōzen*, *stiez*, *gestōzen*). *schroten* (OHG. *scrōtan*, *scriot*, *giscrōtan*) has become weak, except that in the past participle strong and weak forms occur.

§ 518. *laufen* (OHG. *loufan*, *liof*, *giloufan*, MHG. *loufen*, *lief*, *geloufen*). *hauen* (OHG. *houwan*, *bio*, pl. *hiowum*, *gihouwan*, MHG. *houwen*, *hie* (*hiu*), pl. *hiewen* (*hiuwen*), *gehouden*) had a weak preterite *houte* and past participle *gehout* beside the strong in MHG. In NHG. the present is weak, but was also strong

in early NHG. (*er heut*), and the preterite has strong beside the weak form, *hieb* (§ 237), *haute*.

§ 519. *rufen* (OHG. *ruofan*, *riof*, *giuofan*, MHG. *ruofen*, *rief*, *geruofen*) has become weak in the present. The preterite and past participle formerly fluctuated between strong and weak forms. The weak preterite *rufte* was common in the eighteenth century.

B. WEAK VERBS.

§ 520. The weak verbs, which for the most part are derivative or denominative verbs, were in OHG. divided into three classes according as the infinitive ended in *-en* (older *-jan*), *-ōn*, or *-ēn*. Three stems are to be distinguished in the conjugation of a weak verb: the stem of the present, preterite, and past participle, which mostly agrees with that of the preterite.

NOTE.—Many points concerning the inflexion of weak verbs in the oldest periods of the Germanic languages have never been satisfactorily explained. For a summary and discussion of the various explanations, which have been suggested by scholars, the student should consult: Brugmann's *Kurze vergleichende Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*; Streitberg's *Urgermanische Grammatik*; and Kluge's *Vorgeschichte der altgermanischen Dialekte* in Paul's *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*, vol. I.

CLASS I.

§ 521. In OHG. the verbs of this class are divided into two sub-divisions: (*a*) verbs which originally had a short stem; (*b*) polysyllabic verbs and those which originally had a long stem syllable. Nearly all the verbs belonging to Class I are causative and denominative.

Sub-division (*a*).

§ 522. Formation of the present stem: The present stem of these verbs became long (except in the second and

third pers. sing. pres. indicative, and second pers. sing. imperative) by the West Germanic law of the doubling of consonants (§ 213). The *j* had already disappeared in these persons before the operation of the law, for which reason they had single consonants in OHG. The verbs, however, ending in one of the affricatae *zz* (*tz*), *pf*; and *ck* (= West Germanic *tj*, *pj*, *kj*), levelled out the affricatae and the *ck* to all forms of the present and to the second pers. sing. of the imperative in prehistoric HG.

§ 523. Formation of the pret. and past participle: The *j*, which caused the doubling of the final consonants in the present stems, never existed in the preterite or past participle, so that these stems ended in single consonants. The preterite usually had the ending *-ita*, but verbs, whose present stems ended in one of the affricatae *pf*, *zz* (*tz*), or *ck* (= West Germanic *pj*, *tj*, *kj*), had the ending *-ta* in the preterite. Those whose present stems ended in *tt* or *ll* (= West Germanic *dj*, *lj*) sometimes had the one ending and sometimes the other.

The past participle had two forms, the one called the uninflected, the other the inflected form. The uninflected form ended in *-it*, and the inflected form ended in *-itēr* when the preterite ended in *-ita*, and in *-tēr* when the preterite ended in *-ta*.

Sub-Division (*b*).

§ 524. In this sub-division the verbs underwent no consonant changes in the present. The preterite ended in *-ta*. The uninflected form of the past participle ended in *-it* and the inflected form in *-tēr*.

CLASS II.

§ 525. This class originally contained verbs belonging partly to the athematic and partly to the thematic conjuga-

tion (§ 471). The first pers. sing. of the former ended in *-āmi* and of the latter in *-ājō*. The *ā* became *ō* in the prim. Germanic period (§ 37). In prehistoric OHG. the *ō* was levelled out to all forms of the verb. The OHG. ending of the first pers. sing. of the pres. indicative is a remnant of the athematic or *mi*-conjugation.

CLASS III.

§ 526. Most of the verbs belonging to this class were originally primary verbs like Latin *habēre* = OHG. *habēn*. The *ē* was levelled out to all forms of the verb in prehistoric OHG. It is doubtful whether the OHG. *-m* of the first pers. sing. pres. indicative is a remnant of the *mi*-conjugation. It is more probable that the *-m* is due to analogy of verbs of Class II.

§ 527. The full conjugation of *leggen*, *hören*, Class I, *salbōn*, Class II, and *lēbēn*, Class III, will serve as models for all weak verbs.

Present.

Indicative.

OHG.

Sing. 1.	leggu	hōru	salbōm, (-ōn)	lēbēm, (-ēn)
2.	legis(t)	hōris(t)	salbōs(t)	lēbēs(t)
3.	legit	hōrit	salbōt	lēbēt
Plur. 1.	leggemēs, (-ēn)	hōremēs, (-ēn)	salbōmēs, (-ōn)	lēbēmēs, (-ēn)
2.	legget	hōret	salbōt	lēbēt
3.	leggent	hōrent	salbōnt	lēbēnt

MHG.

Sing. 1.	lege	hære	salbe	lēbe
2.	legest	hærest	salbest	lēbest
3.	leget	hæret	salbet	lēbet
Plur. 1.	legen	hæren	salben	lēben
2.	leget	hæret	salbet	lēbet
3.	legent	hærent	salbent	lēbent

NHG.

Sing.	1. lege	höre	salbe	lebe
	2. legst	hörst	salbst	lebst
	3. legt	hört	salbt	lebt
Plur.	1. legen	hören	salben	leben
	2. legt	hört	salbt	lebt
	3. legen	hören	salben	leben

Subjunctive.

OHG.

Sing.	1. legge	höre	salbo	lēbe
	2. leggēs(t)	hörēs(t)	salbōs(t)	lēbēs(t)
	3. legge	höre	salbo	lēbe
Plur.	1. leggēm, (-ēn, -emēs)	hörēm	salbōm	lēbēm
	2. leggēt	hörēt	salbōt	lēbēt
	3. leggēn	hörēn	salbōn	lēbēn

MHG.

Sing.	1. lege	hære	salbe	lēbe
	2. legest	hærest	salbest	lēbest
	3. lege	hære	salbe	lēbe
Plur.	1. legen	hæren	salben	lēben
	2. leget	hæret	salbet	lēbet
	3. legen	hæren	salben	lēben

NHG.

Sing.	1. lege	höre	salbe	lebe
	2. legest	hörest	salbest	lebest
	3. lege	höre	salbe	lebe
Plur.	1. legen	hören	salben	leben
	2. leget	höret	salbet	lebet
	3. legen	hören	salben	leben

Imperative.

OHG.

Sing. 2. legi	hōri	salbo	lēbe
Plur. 1. leggemēs, (-ēn)	hōremēs	salbōmēs	lēbēmēs
2. legget	hōret	salbōt	lēbet

MHG.

Sing. 2. lege	hære	salbe	lēbe
Plur. 1. legen	hæren	salben	lēben
2. leget	hæret	salbet	lēbet

NHG.

Sing. 2. lege	höre	salbe	lebe
Plur. 2. legt	hört	salbt	lebt

Infinitive.

OHG. leggen	hören	salbōn	lēbēn
MHG. legen	hæren	salben	lēben
NHG. legen	hören	salben	leben

Gerund.

OHG.

{ Gen. leggenes	hōrennes	salbōnnes	lēbēnnes
{ Dat. leggenne	hōrenne	salbōnne	lēbēnne

MHG.

{ Gen. legennes	hærennes	salbennes	lēbennes
{ Dat. legenne	hærenne	salbenne	lēbenne

NHG. legend-	hörend-	salbend-	lebend-
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Participle.

OHG. leggenti	hōrenti	salbōnti	lēbēnti
MHG. legende	hærende	salbende	lēbende
NHG. legend	hörend	salbend	lebend

Preterite.

Indicative.

OHG.

Sing. 1.	legita	hōrta	salbōta	lēbēta
2.	legitōs(t)	hōrtōs(t)	salbōtōs(t)	lēbētōs(t)
3.	legita	hōrta	salbōta	lēbēta
Plur. 1.	legitum, (-un)	hōrtum	salbōtum	lēbētum
2.	legitut	hōrtut	salbōtut	lēbētut
3.	legitun	hōrtun	salbōtun	lēbētun

MHG.

Sing. 1.	legete	hōrte	salbete	lēbete
2.	legetest	hōrtest	salbetest	lēbetest
3.	legete	hōrte	salbete	lēbete
Plur. 1.	legeten	hōrten	salbeten	lēbeten
2.	legetet	hōrtet	salbetet	lēbetet
3.	legeten	hōrten	salbeten	lēbeten

NHG.

Sing. 1.	legte	hörte	salbte	lebte
2.	legtest	hörtest	salbtest	lebtest
3.	legte	hörte	salbte	lebte
Plur. 1.	legten	hörten	salbten	lebten
2.	legtet	hörtet	salbtet	lebtet
3.	legten	hörten	salbten	lebten

Subjunctive.

OHG.

Sing. 1.	legiti	hōrti	salbōti	lēbēti
2.	legitīs(t)	hōrtīs(t)	salbōtīs(t)	lēbētīs(t)
3.	legiti	hōrti	salbōti	lēbēti
Plur. 1.	legitīm, (-īn)	hōrtīm	salbōtīm	lēbētīm
2.	legitīt	hōrtīt	salbōtīt	lēbētīt
3.	legitīn	hōrtīn	salbōtīn	lēbētīn

MHG.

Sing. 1.	legete	hōrte	salbete	lēbete
2.	legetest	hōrtest	salbetest	lēbetest
3.	legete	hōrte	salbete	lēbete
Plur. 1.	legeten	hōrten	salbeten	lēbeten
2.	legetet	hōrtet	salbetet	lēbetet
3.	legeten	hōrten	salbeten	lēbeten

NHG.

Sing. 1.	legte	hörte	salbte	lebte
2.	legtest	hörtest	salbtest	lebtest
3.	legte	hörte	salbte	lebte
Plur. 1.	legten	hörten	salbten	lebten
2.	legtet	hörtet	salbtet	lebtet
3.	legten	hörten	salbten	lebten

Participle.

OHG.	{ gilegit gilegitēr	{ gihōrit gihōrtēr	{ gisalbōt gisalbōtēr	{ gilēbēt gilēbētēr
MHG.	geleget	{ gehæret gehört	gesalbet	gelēbet
NHG.	gelegt	gehört	gesalbt	gelebt

THE ENDINGS OF WEAK VERBS.

§ 528. Present: In the oldest period of the language the indic. first pers. singular of Class I ended in *-iu*, which became *-u* after the analogy of the strong verbs in the early part of the ninth century. In Classes II and III the final *-m* became *-n* in the ninth century. This *-n* remained in early MHG., but during the MHG. period the first pers. sing. was formed after the analogy of Class I and the strong verbs. The ending *-i* in the imperative of the second pers. singular goes back to an original *-eje*, which regularly became *-ī* in prim. Germanic. On the other endings of all forms of the present in OHG., see §§ 476–80. The vowels

i, e, o, u, ē, ō, in the OHG. endings were all weakened to **e** in MHG. (§ 170), so that the old distinction between the three classes of weak verbs disappeared. NHG. examples of verbs which belonged to Class II in OHG. are: *beten* (OHG. *bētōn*), *danken* (OHG. *dankōn*), and similarly *dienen*, *heischen* (OHG. *eiscōn*), *fordern*, *jagen*, *lecken*, *lohnēn*, *machen*, *mahnen*, *minnen*, *rauben*, *reden*, *regnen*, *schaden*, *schauen* (OHG. *scouwōn*), *segnen*, *spāhen*, *spielen*, *zieren*. Examples of NHG. verbs which belonged to Class III in OHG. are: *fasten* (OHG. *fastēn*), *folgen* (OHG. *folgēn*), and similarly *fragen*, *faulen*, *haben*, *kleben*, *lernen*, *sagen*, *schweben*, *sorgen*, *trauen*, *warten*, *wohnen*. Some verbs had double forms, as *hassen* (OHG. *hazzēn*, *hazzōn*), *holen* (OHG. *holōn*, *holēn*), and similarly *klagen*, *loben*, *mahlen*, *sparen*. On the loss of the **e** in NHG. *legst*, *legt*, &c., see § 174.

§ 529. Preterite: The vowels **a, i, u, ē, ī, ō** in the OHG. endings were all weakened to **e** in MHG., so that the indicative and subjunctive fell together in form. And in like manner the past participle of Class I, sub-division (a), fell together with the past participle of Classes II and III. On the loss of **e** in NHG. *legte*, *lebte*, &c., see § 174.

GENERAL REMARKS ON THE WEAK VERBS.

§ 530. Present: The double consonants in Class I, sub-division (a), began to be simplified in late OHG.

§ 531. Preterite: The weak preterite is a special Germanic formation, and many points connected with its origin are still uncertain. Some scholars are inclined to regard it as a periphrastic formation which was originally confined to denominative verbs, and then at a later period became extended to primary verbs as well. The OHG. endings **-ta, -tōs, -ta, -tum, -tut, -tun** would thus represent an old aorist formed from the root *dhē-*, *put*, *place* (Gr. *τί-θη-μι*), which stands in ablaut relation to OE. *dōn*, OHG. *tuon*, *to do*. The old preterite (perfect) of this verb has been pre-

served in the preterite plural of Gothic weak verbs, as *háusi-dēdum* (*we heard*), *-dēdūþ*, *-dēdun* beside the OHG. pret. plural of *tuon*: *tātum*, *tātut*, *tātun*. But it is also probable that the dental in the OHG. preterite partly stands in close relationship to the dental in the past participle. The *i* in the preterite of Class I, sub-division (*a*), *-ita*, *-itōs*, &c., was from the past participle. Through the weakening of the OHG. endings in MHG., the preterite of Class I, sub-division (*a*), fell together with Classes II and III, so that in MHG. the weak verbs are generally divided into two classes according as the preterite ends in *-te* or *-ete*. But already in MHG. verbs which regularly had *-ete* often took *-te* after the analogy of Class I (*b*). In NHG. the usual form is *-te*, but from the seventeenth century onwards verbs whose stems end in a dental regularly have *-ete*, as *leitete*, *redete*, *rettete*, &c. In NHG. the preterite and past participle are generally formed direct from the present, so that when the present has umlaut the preterite and past participle have it also. But in MHG. those verbs which formed their preterite in *-te* did not have umlaut, as *füllen*, *fürhten*, *hœnen*, *hüeten*, *rüemen*, *sæjen*, *senken*, *setzen*, *vellen*, *wünschen*, pret. *fulte*, *forhte*, *hōnte*, *huote*, *ruomde*, *sāte*, *sancte*, *sazte*, *valte*, *wunschte*, but NHG. *füllte*, *fürchtete*, *höhte*, *hüttete*, *rühmte*, *säte*, *senkte*, *setzte*, *fällte*, *wünschte*. The old distinction between the vowel of the present and preterite has been preserved in a few verbs, viz. *brennen*, *brannte* (MHG. *brante*, OHG. *branta*), and similarly in *kennen*, *nennen*, *rennen*, *senden*, *wenden*. *bringen*, *brachte* (MHG. *brähte*, pret. subj. *bræhte*); *denken*, *dachte* (MHG. *dāhte*, pret. subj. *dæhte*); *dünken*, older NHG. also *dunken* (MHG. *dünken*, *dunken*), MHG. pret. indic. *dūhte*, subj. *diuhte*; NHG. *dünkte* is a new formation, and *däucht*, *däuchte*, *gedäucht* have their stem vowel from the pret. subjunctive.

In a few cases new presents have been formed from the

old preterites, as *atzen*, *bestallen*, *schätzen* beside the regular forms *ätzen*, *bestellen*, *schätzen*.

§ 532. Past Participle: In the oldest period of the language verbs of Class I, sub-division (a), had **-it** in the uninflected and **-itēr** in the inflected form, but those of sub-division (b) had **-it** in the uninflected and **-tēr** in the inflected form. This distinction was preserved in MHG., which accounts for the past participle having both an umlauted and non-umlauted form. An old isolated form of this kind has been preserved in *behaftet* beside *heften*. In NHG. the old distinction between the inflected and uninflected form has been given up. Those verbs which now have **-te** in the preterite have **-t** in the past participle, and those which have **-ete** in the preterite have **-et** in the past participle, but we have the old isolated form in *beredt* beside *geredet*. The verbs, which have preserved the old distinction between the vowel of the present and preterite, have preserved it also in the past participle, as *gebrannt*, *genannt*, &c.

§ 533. In OHG. *habēn* was a weak verb of Class III, and was conjugated like *lēbēn* (§ 527). In late OHG. the present *habēn* was contracted into *hān*, which in MHG. came to be used chiefly as an auxiliary verb beside *haben* used as a principal verb. The contracted forms of the present were in MHG. *hān*, *hāst*, *hāt*, pl. *hān*, *hāt*, *hān*, whence NHG. *hast*, *hat*. The other forms of the present have not been preserved in NHG. From the present *hān* there was formed in MHG. a new preterite *hāte*, *hātest*, &c. beside *hæte*, *hætest*, &c. which were used both for the indicative and subjunctive, whence NHG. *hatte*, *hattest*, &c. and subjunctive *hätte*, *hättest*, &c.

C. MINOR GROUPS.

A. PRETERITE-PRESENTS.

§ 534. These verbs were originally unreduplicated perfects, which acquired a present meaning like Greek *οἶδα*,

Latin *nōvī*, *I know*. In prim. Germanic a new weak preterite, an infinitive, a present participle, and in some verbs a strong past participle, were formed from the stem form of the plural. They are inflected in the present like the preterite of strong verbs, except that the second pers. singular has the same stem vowel as the first and third persons, and has also preserved the old ending *-t* (§ 479). In NHG. the second pers. singular *darfst* (MHG. *darft*), *sollst* (MHG. *solt*), *magst* (MHG. *maht*), have been formed after the analogy of *weisst* (MHG. *weist*), *kannst* (MHG. *kanst*), *musst* (MHG. *muost*). In early NHG. the third pers. singular often ended in *-t* after the analogy of other verbs. In MHG. the present plural and infinitive: *tügen*, *günnen*, *künnen*, *dürfen*, *mügen*, and *müezen* probably had umlaut after the analogy of the subjunctive. Then the *ü* in *günnen*, *künnen* regularly became *ö* in NHG. (§ 101). In NHG. the pres. plural, the infinitive, and pret. subjunctive have the umlaut of the vowel which occurs in the pret. indicative. The pret. subjunctive had umlaut in MHG., which has remained in NHG. except in *sollte* (MHG. *sölte* beside *solte*). The NHG. past participle has been formed direct from the pret. indicative.

§ 535. Class I: OHG. and MHG. *weiz*, *weist*, *weiz*, pl. OHG. *wizzum*, MHG. *wizzen*, NHG. *weiss*, *weisst*, *weiss*, *wissen*; pret. indic. OHG. *wissa*, *wëssa* (*wista*, *wësta*), MHG. *wisse*, *wësse* (*wiste*, *wëste*, late MHG. *wuste*, *woste*, through the influence of the *w*): only the form *wusste* has survived in NHG.; NHG. pret. subj. *wüsste* is a new formation from the pret. indicative; inf. OHG. *wizzan*, MHG. *wizzen*, NHG. *wissen*; pp. OHG. *giwizzan*, MHG. *gewizzen* beside *gewëst* formed from the pret. *wëste*; NHG. *gewusst* formed from *wusste*. The NHG. imperative *wisse* is a new formation. The imperative did not exist in OHG. and MHG.

§ 536. Class II: OHG. *toug*, *it avails*, plural *tugun*, pret.

tohta; MHG. **touc**, pl. **tugen** (tügen), inf. **tugen** (tügen). A new inf. **tougen** was formed from **touc** in MHG., and then the verb became weak as in NHG. *es taugt*, inf. *taugen*.

§ 537. Class III: OHG. **kan**, **kanst**, **kan**, pl. **kunnum**, pret. **konda** (with **o** difficult to explain), inf. **kunnan**; MHG. **kan**, **kanst**, **kan**, pl. and inf. **kunnen** (k^ünnen), pret. indic. **kunde** (konde), subj. **kunde** (k^ünde); NHG. *kann*, *kannst*, *kann*, pl. and inf. *können* (from **k^ünnen**), pret. indic. *konnte* (from **konde**), subj. *könnte* and pp. *gekonnt* formed from *konnte*.

MHG. **gan** (from *ge-an), pl. and inf. **gunnen** (g^ünnen), has become weak in NHG.: *gönnen*, *gönnte*.

OHG. **darf**, **darft**, **darf**, pl. **durfum**, pret. **dorfta**, inf. **durfan**; MHG. **darf**, **darft**, **darf**, pl. and inf. **durfen** (d^ür^üfen), pret. indic. **dorfte**, subj. **dörfte**; NHG. *darf*, *darfst*, *darf*, pl. and inf. *dürfen* (from MHG. **d^ür^üfen**), pret. indic. *durfte* formed from MHG. **durfen**; subj. *dürfte* and pp. *gedurft*, formed from pret. *durfte*.

§ 538. Class IV: OHG. **scal**, **scalt**, **scal**, pl. **sculum**, pret. **scolta**, inf. **scolan** (§ 57). Forms without **c** occur already in OHG., as **sal**, **solta**, cp. OE. **sceal**, beside Mod. Northern Engl. dial. *sal* = *shall*; **sol**, **solt**, **sol** with **o** from the inf. and pret. were common in late OHG.; MHG. **sol** (**sal**), **solt** (**salt**), **sol** (**sal**), pl. and inf. **suln** (s^üln), pret. indic. **solde** (**solte**), subj. **solte** (s^ölte); NHG. *soll*, *sollst*, *soll*, pl. and inf. *sollen* formed from *soll*, pret. indic. and subj. *sollte* (MHG. **solte**), pp. *gesollt* formed from *sollte*.

§ 539. Class V: OHG. **mag**, **maht**, **mag**, pl. **magum** (mugum after the analogy of **sculum**), pret. **mahta** (mohta), inf. **magan** (mugan); MHG. **mac**, **maht**, **mac**, pl. **magen** (mugen, m^ügen), pret. **mahte** (mohte), subj. **mähte** (m^öhte), inf. **mugen** (m^ügen); NHG. *mag*, *magst* (a new formation from *mag*), pl. and inf. *mögen*, pret. indic. *mochte*

from MHG. *mohte*, subj. *möchte* from MHG. *möhte*, pp. *gemocht* from pret. *mochte*.

In OHG. several of the forms were new formations which took place in the prehistoric period of the language. The verb probably belonged originally to Class VI.

§ 540. Class VI: OHG. *muoz*, *muost*, *muoz*, pl. *muozum*, pret. indic. *muosa*; MHG. *muoz*, *muost*, *muoz*, pl. and inf. *müezen*, pret. indic. *muose* (*muoste* with *t* from other preterites), subj. *müese* (*müeste*); NHG. *muss*, *musst*, *muss*, pl. and inf. *müssen* from MHG. *müezen*, pret. indic. *musste* from MHG. *muoste*, subj. *müsste* from MHG. *müeste*, pp. *gemusst* formed from *musste*. The stem vowel in all the NHG. forms has undergone shortening (§ 139).

B. VERBS IN *-mi*.

§ 541. The first pers. sing. pres. indicative of the Indo-Germanic verb ended either in *-ō* or *-mi* (cp. the Greek verbs in *-ω* and *-μι*, like *φέρω* and *τίθημι*, &c.). See § 471. To the verbs in *-ō* belong all the regular Germanic verbs; of the verbs in *-mi* only scanty remains have been preserved; they are distinguished by the fact that the first pers. sing. pres. indicative ends in *-m*, which became *-n* in OHG. in the ninth century. Here belong the following OHG. verbs:—

§ 542. I. THE SUBSTANTIVE VERB.

Present.

Indicative.

	OHG.	MHG.	NHG.
Sing. 1.	<i>bim</i> , (<i>-n</i>)	<i>bin</i>	<i>bin</i>
2.	<i>bis(t)</i>	<i>bist</i>	<i>bist</i>
3.	<i>ist</i>	<i>ist</i>	<i>ist</i>

	OHG.	MHG.	NHG.
Plur. 1.	birum, (-n)	birn, (sint)	sind
2.	birut	birt, (sīt)	seid
3.	sint	sint	sind

Subjunctive.

Sing. 1.	sī	sī, (sīe)	sei
2.	sīs(t)	sīst, (sīest)	seiest
3.	sī	sī, (sīe)	sei
Plur. 1.	sīm, (-n)	sīn, (sīen)	seien
2.	sīt	sīt, (sīet)	seiet
3.	sīn	sīn, (sīen)	seien

Imperative.

Sing. 2.	wis	wis	sei
Plur. 2.	wëset, (sīt)	wëset, (sīt)	seid

Infinitive.

wësan, (sīn)	wësen, (sīn)	sein
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Participle.

wësanti	wësende	seiend
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Preterite.

Indicative.

Sing. 1.	was	was	war
2.	wāri	wære	warst
3.	was	was	war
Plur. 1.	wārum	wāren	waren
2.	wārut	wāret	wart
3.	wārun	wāren	waren

Subjunctive.

Sing. 1.	wāri	wære	wäre
2.	wārīs(t)	wærest	wærest
3.	wāri	wære	wäre

	OHG.	MHG.	NHG.
Plur. 1.	wārīm	wāren	wāren
2.	wārīt	wāret	wāret
3.	wārīn	wāren	wāren

Participle.

—	gewēsen	gewesen
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The OHG. pres. indicative forms *ist*, *sint*, and the pres. subjunctive were formed from the root *es-*. The forms with *b-* (*bim*, *bist*, *birum*, *birut*) probably arose from a contamination of the root *es-* with the root *bheu-* (= Lat. *fu-*). The regular OHG. forms would have been **im*, **is*, **irum*, **irut*, the last two forms with preterite endings. On the original forms of the present tense, see § 471. In the oldest period of the German language all forms of the verb '*to be*' were supplied by *wēsan* except the pres. indicative and subjunctive, but in NHG. the forms from *wesen* have become restricted to the pret. indicative and subjunctive, and the past participle. On the history of the preterite forms, see § 507.

The forms *birn*, *birt* disappeared in the thirteenth century, their place being taken by the subjunctive *sīn* (Middle German also *sint*, the third person), *sīt*, whence NHG. *sind*, *seid*. In the fourteenth century the pres. subjunctive began to take an *e* after the analogy of the other verbs. These dissyllabic forms have become generalized in NHG. before a following consonant, whence *sei*, but *seiest*, *seien*, and similarly in the pres. participle. In the imperative, the subjunctive form *sīt* was used beside *wēset* already in OHG., whence MHG. *sīt* and NHG. *seid*. The NHG. second pers. singular *sei* is a new formation from the subjunctive, and similarly the pres. participle *seiend*. The OHG. infinitive *sīn* was a new formation from the subjunctive.

§ 543.

2. THE VERB *tun*.*Present.*

Indicative.

	OHG.	MHG.	NHG.
Sing. 1.	tuom, (-n)	tuon, (tuo)	tue
2.	tuos(t)	tuost	tust
3.	tuot	tuot	tut
Plur. 1.	tuomes, (tuon)	tuon	tun
2.	tuot	tuot	tut
3.	tuont	tuont	tun

Infinitive.

tuon	tuon	tun
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Preterite.

Indicative.

Sing. 1.	tëta	tëte	tat
2.	tāti	tæte	tatst
3.	tëta	tëte	tat
Plur. 1.	tātum, (-n)	tāten	taten
2.	tātut	tātet	tatet
3.	tātun	tāten	taten

Participle.

gitān	getān	getan
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The final *-n* of the first pers. singular began to disappear in MHG.

MHG. *tuo* would regularly have become *tu* in NHG., *tue* is a new formation after the analogy of the first pers. sing. of other verbs. The forms of the pres. subjunctive were in MHG. *tuo*, *tuost*, *tuo*, pl. *tuon*, *tuot*, *tuon*. The *uo* would regularly have become *ū* in NHG. (§ 137), but *tue*, *tuest*, &c. have *e* after the analogy of the pres. subjunctive of other verbs. The pret. indicative is inflected in OHG. and MHG. like *nëman* (§ 474) except that the

first and third pers. singular have reduplication. In NHG. the singular has been formed from the plural stem form *tat*-. The pret. subjunctive OHG. *tāti*, *tātis(t)*, &c., MHG. *tæte*, *tætest*, NHG. *täte*, *tätest*, are inflected like *nëman* (§ 474).

§ 544. 3. THE VERBS *gehen*, *stehen*.

The OHG. strong verbs *gangan* (§ 514) and *stantan* (§ 511), which regularly formed their preterites *giang*, *stuont*, had, beside these, short present forms. The Alemanic dialect had the forms *gān*, *stān*, while the Bavarian and Franconian dialects mostly had the forms *gēn*, *stēn* which correspond to NHG. *gehen* and *stehen*. On the dissyllabic pronunciation of the NHG. forms see § 181. The conjugation of *gēn* will serve for both verbs.

Present.

Indicative.

	OHG.	MHG.	NHG.
Sing. 1.	<i>gēm</i> , (- <i>n</i>)	<i>gēn</i> , (<i>gē</i>)	<i>gehe</i>
2.	<i>gēs(t)</i>	<i>gēst</i>	<i>gehst</i>
3.	<i>gēt</i>	<i>gēt</i>	<i>geht</i>
Plur. 1.	<i>gēmēs</i> , (<i>gēn</i>)	<i>gēn</i>	<i>gehen</i>
2.	<i>gēt</i>	<i>gēt</i>	<i>geht</i>
3.	<i>gēnt</i>	<i>gēnt</i>	<i>gehen</i>

Subjunctive.

Sing. 1.	<i>gē</i>	<i>gē</i>	<i>gehe</i>
2.	<i>gēs(t)</i>	<i>gēst</i>	<i>gehest</i>
3.	<i>gē</i>	<i>gē</i>	<i>gehe</i>
Plur. 1.	<i>gēn</i>	<i>gēn</i>	<i>gehen</i>
2.	<i>gēt</i>	<i>gēt</i>	<i>gehet</i>
3.	<i>gēn</i>	<i>gēn</i>	<i>gehen</i>

Infinitive.

<i>gēn</i>	<i>gēn</i>	<i>gehen</i>
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The origin of the NHG. dissyllabic forms in the subjunctive is the same as that in *tun*.

§ 545.

THE VERB *wollen*.

The present tense of this verb was originally an optative (subjunctive) form of a verb in *-mi*, which already in prim. Germanic came to be used indicatively. To this was formed a new subjunctive and a weak preterite. The old optative forms were preserved in Gothic, as *wiljáu*, *wileis*, *wili*, pl. *wileima*, *wileiþ*, *wileina*, cp. Lat. *velim*, *velis*, *velit*, pl. *velimus*, *velitis*, *velint*, but in OHG. they were only preserved in the singular, all other forms of the present were from the causative verb *wellen* = Gothic *waljan*, *to choose*, which accounts for the fact that these forms had in OHG. the same inflexions as an ordinary weak verb of class I (§ 527). In the Franconian dialects (Middle German) of the OHG. period the *e* in the various forms of the present became *o* either through the influence of the preceding *w* (cp. § 65) or else from analogy of the *o* in the preterite, whence the NHG. forms *wollen*, *wollt*, *wolle*, &c.

Present.

Indicative.

	OHG.	MHG.	NHG.
Sing. 1.	<i>willu</i>	<i>wil</i>	<i>will</i>
2.	<i>wili</i>	<i>wil</i> , (<i>wilt</i>)	<i>willst</i>
3.	<i>wili</i>	<i>wil</i>	<i>will</i>
Plur. 1.	<i>wellemēs</i> (<i>wellēn</i>)	<i>wellen</i> , (<i>weln</i>)	<i>wollen</i>
2.	<i>wellet</i>	<i>wellet</i> , (<i>welt</i>)	<i>wollt</i>
3.	<i>wellent</i>	<i>wellen</i> , (<i>weln</i>)	<i>wollen</i>

Subjunctive.

Sing. 1.	<i>welle</i>	<i>welle</i>	<i>wolle</i>
2.	<i>wellēs</i> (t)	<i>wellest</i>	<i>wollest</i>
3.	<i>welle</i>	<i>welle</i>	<i>wolle</i>

	OHG.	MHG.	NHG.
Plur. 1.	wellēm, (-n)	wellen	wollen
2.	wellēt	wellet	wollet
3.	wellēn	wellen	wollen

Infinitive.

wellen	wellen	wollen
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Participle.

wellenti	wellende	wollend
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Preterite.

Indicative.

wolta	wolte, (wolde)	wollte
[like hōrta, § 527]		

Subjunctive.

wolti	wolte, (wölte)	wollte
[like hōrti, § 527]		

Participle.

—	gewellet, (gewellt)	gewollt
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OHG. *willu* was a new formation after the analogy of the first pers. of other verbs. In MHG. the present singular was remodelled after the analogy of the preterite-presents. NHG. *willst* has *-st* after the analogy of the preterite-presents. The NHG. imperative *wolle* is a new formation. The pret. subj., like *sollte*, does not have umlaut. The pp. does not occur in OHG., it is a late MHG. new formation. NHG. pp. *gewollt* is formed from the pret. *wollte*.

CHAPTER XVIII

ADVERBS.

§ 546. IN this chapter we shall chiefly deal with the formation of adverbs from adjectives, and with the inflected forms of nouns and adjectives used adverbially.

547. In OHG. adverbs were formed from adjectives by adding *-o* to the uninflected form of the adjective when it ended in a consonant. When the adjective ended in *-i* (*ja-*, *jō-*stems, § 400) the *-i* was dropped before the adverbial ending *-o*; and those adjectives, which had an umlauted stem-vowel, did not have it in the adverbs. The ending *-o* (Gothic *-ō*, Indg. *-ōd*) was originally an ablative ending (cp. § 405). Examples are: OHG. adjectives *ēban*, *eben*, *gilih*, *gleich*, *lūt*, *laut*, *rēht*, *recht*, *ubil*, *übel*; *engi*, *eng*, *festi*, *fest*, *scōni*, *schön*, *stilli*, *still*, *swāri*, *schwer*, beside the adverbs *ēbano*, *gilicho*, *lūto*, *rēhto*, *ubilo*; *ango*, *fasto*, *scōno*, *stillo*, *swāro*.

In MHG. the final *-o* of the adverbs and the final *-i* of the adjectives were weakened to *-e*, so that when the adjective ended in a consonant the only difference between the adjective and adverb was the final *-e* in the latter, as adj. *gelich*, *lūt*, *rēht* beside adv. *geliche*, *lūte*, *rēhte*. When the adjective ended in *-e* the only difference between the adjective and adverb was the presence or absence of umlaut, as adj. *enge*, *herte*, *schoene*, *senfte*, *soft*, *spæte*, *spät*, *stille*, *süeze*, *süss*, *swære*, *veste* beside adv. *ange*, *harte*, *schöne*, *sanfte*, *späte*, *stille*, *suoze*, *swære*, *vaste*.

In NHG. this distinction between the adjective and adverb has disappeared. The uninflected form of the

adjective is now used as an adverb except in the case of *hart* and *sanft* which are originally the adverbial forms, and of *lang* beside *lange*. The adjectives *fest* and *schön* beside the adverbs *fast* and *schon* have been differentiated in meaning. NHG. examples are: *böse, eben, eng, gut, müde, öde, schnell, schwer, spät, süß, &c.*

§ 548. The *-lich* (MHG. *-liche*) in adverbs formed from adjectives ending in *-lich* (§ 324) came to be regarded as an adverbial suffix already in OHG., as in OHG. *angustlich*, *ängstlich*, *ëbanlich*, *evenly*, *fastlich*, *firmly*, *frawalich*, *fröhlich*, *geistlich*, *geistlich*, *wärlich*, *wahrlich*, &c.

In NHG. *-lich* is used to form a large number of adverbs, as *ewiglich*, *fälschlich*, *freilich*, *höchlich*, *kühnlich*, *kürzlich*, *neulich*, *schwerlich*, *sicherlich*, &c.

§ 549. In OHG. the comparative degree of adverbs ended in *-ör*, and the superlative mostly ended in *-öst*, but also sometimes in *-ist* (§§ 405-8), as OHG. *langör*, *langöst*; *fastör*, *fastöst*; *jungist*.

In MHG. the endings *-ör*, *-öst*, *-ist* were weakened to *-er*, *-est* and thus fell together with the endings of the comparative and superlative degrees of adjectives (§§ 406, 408), so that the only difference between the adjectives and adverbs was the presence or absence of umlaut, as adj. *lanc*, *lenger*, *lengest*, beside adv. *lange*, *langer*, *langest*.

This distinction has disappeared in NHG. The comparative and superlative degrees of adverbs are now the same as the corresponding uninflected forms of the adjectives, as *länger*; *längst*, *baldigst*, *gnädigst*, *höchst*, *jüngst*, *möglichst*, *nächst*, &c. But *eher*, *ehestens* and *lieber*, *am liebsten* are used as the comparative and superlative of *bald* and *gern*. The NHG. inflected superlative in combination with the definite article and a preposition was rare in OHG. and MHG., as in NHG. *am besten*, *aufs*

beste, zum besten, &c. On the ending *-ens* as in NHG. *bestens, meistens, wenigstens, &c.*, see § 550.

§ 550. A large number of NHG. adverbs consists of the various cases of nouns and adjectives used adverbially, as acc. sing. *alleweile, diesseit, gar, genug, jenseit, viel, weg, wenig, &c.*; instr. sing. *heuer* (OHG. *hiuru*), *heute* (OHG. *hiutu*); gen. sing. *derart, dergestalt, derzeit, jederzeit, kurzerhand, mittlerweile; einigermassen, folgendermassen, gewissermassen; ausnahmsweise, beispielsweise, bekannterweise, dummerweise, gleicherweise* (MHG. *glicher wīse*), *glücklicherweise, haufenweise, stufenweise, unverschämterweise*. The ending *-s* belonged originally to the gen. singular of masculine and neuter *o*-stems only, and then at a later period it became extended to other stems and cases; regular forms are: *abends, anfangs, blindlings, flugs* (MHG. *fluges*), *häuptlings, keineswegs, morgens, rings, tags; anders* (OHG. *anderes*), *bereits, besonders, durchgehends, eilends, einst* (with excrescent *-t*), *längs* (MHG. *lenges*), *links, öfters, rechts, stets* (MHG. *stætes*), *stillschweigends, stracks, unversehens, vergebens* (MHG. *vergebenes*), *zusehends; heimwärts* (MHG. *wërtes*, gen. of *wërt*, worth), *rückwärts, seitwärts*; then after the analogy of such words there have been formed: *nachts* (already in OHG. *nahtes*); *andernfalls, ebenfalls, gleichfalls, jedenfalls, keinenfalls; grösstenteils, meistens; abseits, abwegs, angesichts, nachmals, unterwegs, voralters, vormals; damals, irgends, jemals, mehrmals, niemals, nochmals, nirgends; andrerseits* beside *anderseits, diesseits, einerseits, jenseits, meinerseits; allerseits, beiderseits; allerdings* (MHG. gen. pl. *aller dinge*), *allerorts, neuerdings, schlechterdings; vollends* (MHG. dat. pl. *vollen*); NHG. *-ens* from the weak genitive ending *-en + -s*, as *bestens, höchstens, meistens, übrigens, wenigstens, &c.*; this analogical formation is especially common in numerals, as *erstens, zweitens, drittens, &c.*, see § 430; gen. plural *allerorten, allerwege*; dat. plural

allenthalben (already MHG. *allenthalben*), *bisweilen*, *deswegen*, *einstweilen*, *jeweilen*, *weiland* (OHG. *wīlōn*, MHG. *wīlent* with excrescent *-t*).

§ 551. In NHG. many adverbs are merely the cases of nouns and adjectives governed by prepositions, as *abhanden*, *beinahe*, *fürwahr*, *insbesondere*, *insgesamt*, *insofern*, *insoweit*, *inwiefern*, *inwieweit*, *überall*, *vonseiten*, *vorhanden*, *zufrieden*, *zuhaus*, &c.

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